

ANNALS
OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY
OF
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

104291

ISSUED BI-MONTHLY.

VOL. XVII.
JANUARY, 1901—MAY, 1901.

Editor :
HENRY R. SEAGER.

Associate Editors :
EMORY R. JOHNSON. SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY.

PHILADELPHIA :
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.
1901.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637
1968

CONTENTS.

PRINCIPAL PAPERS.

	PAGE
ADAMS, T. S. The Financial Problems of Porto Rico	444
ALLEN, WILLIAM H. The Election of 1900	53
V. BÖHM-BAWERK, E. The Function of Saving . .	454
DEMING, HORACE E. A Municipal Program	431
HAINS, PETER C. An Isthmian Canal from a Military Point of View	397
MEADE, EDWARD SHERWOOD. The Reorganization of Railroads	205
MEYER, B. H. Fraternal Insurance in the United States	260
MUNRO, W. BENNETT. The Neutralization of the Suez Canal	409
SPARLING, SAMUEL E. State Boards of Control, with Special Reference to the Experience of Wisconsin	74
WARNE, FRANK JULIAN. The Anthracite Coal Strike	15
WHITTEN, ROBERT H. Political and Municipal Legis- lation in 1900	244
WOODRUFF, CLINTON ROGERS. Election Methods and Reforms in Philadelphia	181
WU TING-FANG, His Excellency. Causes of the Un- popularity of the Foreigner in China	I

EDITORIALS.

	PAGE
FALKNER, ROLAND P.,	287
SEAGER, HENRY R.,	92

COMMUNICATIONS.

ALLEN, WILLIAM H. Local vs. State Constabulary	100
BOSTEDO, L. G. The Function of Saving	95
CLEVELAND, FREDERICK A. Mr. Carnegie as Economist and Social Reformer	474
GRAY, JOHN H. Greater Chicago	291
KELSEY, CARL. The Juvenile Court of Chicago and Its Work	298
PAXSON, FREDERIC L. Franchise Legislation in Missouri	469
ROTH, CLAUDE L. Belgium's Government Insurance Bank	467
SEAGER, HENRY R. Meeting of the American Economic Association	304
SHERMAN, SIDNEY A. Relation of the State to Municipalities in Rhode Island	472

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY.

Proceedings of the Academy	307, 481
--------------------------------------	----------

PERSONAL NOTES.

Bauer, S., 109.	James, E. J., 318.
Bogart, E. L., 107.	King, W. L., 321.
Carver, T. N., 105.	Kleene, G. A., 108.
Cleveland, F. A., 108.	Loos, I. A., 105.
Crandall, Miss R. K., 108.	Plum, H. G., 106.
Drewry, W. S., 106.	Shambaugh, B. F., 106.
Falkner, R. P., 102.	Sidgwick, H., 108.
George, J. E., 107.	

CONTENTS.

v

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

CONDUCTED BY JAMES T. YOUNG and FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND.

REVIEWS.	PAGE
BALCH, T. W. <i>Éméric Crucé</i> .— <i>W. E. Griffis</i>	512
BITTINGER, LUCY F. <i>The Germans in Colonial Times</i> .— <i>J. G. Rosengarten</i>	328
CLARK, C. C. P. <i>The "Machine" Abolished</i> .— <i>C. L. Roth</i>	330
CLINTON, G. <i>Public Papers of George Clinton</i> .— <i>C. H. Van Tyne</i>	336
COLQUHOUN, A. R. <i>Overland to China</i> .— <i>J. F. Johnson</i>	130
DENIKER, J. <i>The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography</i> .— <i>S. McC. Lindsay</i>	126
DODGE, R. E. <i>Reader in Physical Geography</i> .— <i>J. P. Goode</i>	341
FOSTER, J. W. <i>A Century of American Diplomacy</i> .— <i>G. W. Scott</i>	331
VON DER GOLTZ, H. F. <i>Die Wohnungsinspektion und ihre Ausgestaltung durch das Reich</i> .— <i>E. L. Bogart</i>	521
HABENICHT, H. <i>Taschen Atlas</i> .— <i>J. P. Goode</i>	341
HART, A. B. <i>American History Told by Contemporaries</i> . (Vol. III).— <i>G. H. Haynes</i>	510
HOLLS, F. W. <i>The Peace Conference at the Hague, and Its Bearings on International Law and Policy</i> .— <i>W. E. Griffis</i>	512
HOPKINS, J. H. <i>A History of Political Parties in the United States</i> .— <i>W. H. Allen</i>	338
LEE, G. C. <i>Historical Jurisprudence. An Introduction to the Systematic Study of the Development of Law</i> .— <i>H. P. Willis</i>	120
MERRIAM, C. E., Jr. <i>History of the Theory of Sovereignty Since Rousseau</i> .— <i>B. F. Shambaugh</i>	123
MORRIS, H. C. <i>A History of Colonization, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day</i> .— <i>J. T. Young</i>	515
VON OPPENHEIMER, F. <i>Die Wohnungsnot und Wohnungsreform in England</i> .— <i>E. L. Bogart</i>	339
PARSONS, F. <i>The City for the People</i> .— <i>E. W. Bemis</i>	124
RANDOLPH, C. F. <i>Law and Policy of Annexation</i> .— <i>H. W. Biklé</i>	517
REDWAY, J. W. <i>Elementary Physical Geography</i> .— <i>J. P. Goode</i>	341
RIPLEY, W. Z. <i>The Races of Europe</i> .— <i>S. McC. Lindsay</i>	126
SCIDMORE, Miss E. R. <i>China, the Long-Lived Empire</i> .— <i>J. F. Johnson</i>	129

	PAGE
SHUEY, E. L. Factory People and Their Employers.— <i>C. D. Scully</i>	518
SMITH, A. H. Village Life in China: A Study in Sociology.— <i>J. F. Johnson</i>	129
SPARKS, E. E. The Expansion of the American People, Social and Territorial.— <i>E. S. Meade</i>	519
STEFFEN, G. F. Studien zur Geschichte der Englischen Lohnarbeiter.— <i>E. L. Bogart</i>	521
TAYLOR, W. G. L. Exercises in Economics.— <i>J. E. Hagerly</i>	133
TURMAN, M. Le Catholicisme Social.— <i>R. I. Holaind</i>	523
WILLOUGHBY, W. W. Social Justice. A Critical Essay.— <i>S. J. McLean</i>	342
VON ZWIEDENECK-SÜDENHORST, O. Lohnpolitik und Lohntheorie, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Minimallohnes.— <i>E. L. Bogart</i>	136

NOTES.

ABBOT, S. W. The Past and Present Condition of Public Hygiene, etc., in the United States	110
ADAMS, H. B. The Church and Popular Education	485
AMERICAN Engineering Competition	485
ANDREWS, J. D. American Law	111
BAIRD, W. R. Principles of American Law	486
BEARD, C. The Industrial Revolution	486
BÉRARD, V. L'Angleterre et l'Impérialisme	486
BINGHAM, J. F. Christian Marriage	488
VON BÖHM-BAWERK, E. Capital und Capitalzins (revised edition)	488
BOURINOT, SIR J. Canada Under British Rule	490
BOUTMY, É. Essai d'une Psychologie politique du peuple Anglais au xixième siècle	491
BRANNER, J. C., and J. F. NEWSON. Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Economic Geology	322
BROWN, E., and A. STRAUS. Dictionary of American Politics	491
BULLOCK, C. J. Essays on the Monetary History of the United States	492
Introduction to the Study of Economics	112
CARPENTER, F. G. South America, Social, Industrial, Political	323
CHOATE, J. H. Abraham Lincoln	494
CLEWS, H. The Wall Street Point of View	493
DE COUBERTIN, BARON P. France Since 1814.	323
DAVENPORT, H. The Dollar or the Man.	324

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE
DAVIDSON, T. A History of Education	324
DAVIS, R. H. With Both Armies in South Africa	325
DEISS, E. Etudes Sociales et industrielles sur la Belgique	493
DRIESMANS, H. Das Keltentum in der Europäischen Blutmischung	493
EDDY, A. J. Law of Combinations	493
FISH, D. Lincoln Literature	494
FISHER, J. R. Finland and the Tsars	325
FLANDRAU, C. E. The History of Minnesota	494
FOLKMAR, D. Leçons d'Anthropologie Philosophique	494
FRANCISCO, M. J. Municipalities vs. Private Corporations, Political and Business Management Compared	112
GEORGE, H., JR. Our Land and Land Policy	495
GERMAN OFFICIAL CATALOGUE. International Exposition, Paris, 1900	495
GIDE, C. Principes d'Economie Politique	326
GIROUD, G. Cempius, Education Intégrale. Coéducation des sexes	497
GLASSON, W. H. The History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States	113
GRADY, B. F. The Cause of the South Against the North	114
GRIFFITH, W. History of Kansas City	498
GUNTON, G., and H. ROBBINS. Outlines of Social Economics	498
HALES, A. G. Campaign Pictures of the War in South Africa	499
Harper's History of the War in the Philippines. WILCOX, M., Ed.	499
JOHNSON, A. High School History of the United States	500
KEITH, HANNAH E. Internal Improvement in Michigan	114
LADD, G. T. The Higher Education	326
LAPSLEY, G. T. The County Palatine of Durham	114
LAUZEL, M. Manuel du Coöperateur Socialiste (Bibliothèque Socialiste, No. 1)	500
LECKY, W. E. H. The Map of Life, Conduct and Character	115
LEE, G. C. The Source-Book of English History	116
LEFFÈVRE, A. La Grèce Antique	327
LINCOLN, ABRAHAM: His Book	494
LUBIN, D. "Let there be Light"	501
MAHAN, M. A Church History of the First Seven Centuries (Fifth ed.)	501
MCCLAIN, E. Cases on Constitutional Law	116
MCCRADY, E. The History of South Carolina in the Revolution	501
MCVEY, F. L. The Government of Minnesota	502
MORELLI, A. Il Re	502

	PAGE
MORRIS, H., Ed. Andrews' Manual of the Constitution of the United States	503
NOVICOW, J. La Fédération de l'Europe	503
OBERHOLTZER, E. P. The Referendum in America (rev. ed.)	117
OWEN, W. A. Questions and Answers to Twenty-five of the Most Important Legal Subjects (second ed.)	504
PAGE, T. W. The End of Villainage in England	504
PEABODY, F. G. Jesus Christ and the Social Question	505
PEARSON, K. National Life from the Standpoint of Science	506
PELOUTIER, F. and M. La Vie Ouvrière en France	506
POWELL, L. P. Historic Towns of the Southern States	327
Private Life of King Edward VII.	507
Report on Municipal Trading (The Joint Select Committee of Parliament)	118
SCHMOLLER, SERING AND WAGNER. Handels und Machtpolitik	497
SEARS, E. H. Political Growth in the Nineteenth Century	507
SHARPLESS, I. Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History	508
SIMMONS, W. E. Nicaragua Canal	509
SMITH, F. E. International Law	119
SWETT, J. American Public Schools	328
TOWNE, E. C. The Story of Money	509
VANDERVELDE, E. Le Collectivisme et l'Evolution Industrielle (Bibliothèque Socialiste, Nos. 2-4)	500
WALKER, T. A. History of the Law of Nations	509
VON WENCKSTERN, A. Die Schaffung und Erhaltung einer deutschen Schlachtflotte	495
Heimatpolitik durch Weltpolitik. Reden zur Flottenvorlage, 1900	496
Auf Scholle und Welle. Reden zur Flottenvorlage	496
WHITE, T. R. Business Law	509
WILCOX, D. F. Ethical Marriage	119
YOUNG, A. W., and H. P. JUDSON. The Government Class-Book	120

NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

CONDUCTED BY L. S. ROWE and WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

Baltimore	351, 533
Brooklyn	139
Buffalo	349
Chicago	143

CONTENTS.

ix

	PAGE
Cincinnati	355
City Government in Arkansas	528
Civil Service, 1899-1900	141
Cleveland	145, 353
Duluth	149, 537
Instruction in Municipal Government and its Betterment	347
The League of California Municipalities	536
London	540
Minneapolis	534
Municipal Code Commission of Iowa	148
Municipal Socialism in France	537
National Municipal League	147
New Orleans	352
New York	529
Omaha	536
Pittsburg	350
St. Louis	140, 531
Voting Machines in Municipal Elections	356
Washington, D. C.	355

II. SOCIOLOGY.

CONDUCTED BY J. E. HAGERTY.

Child Suicide in Prussia	361
Commercial Education in Scotland	154
The Fourth Congress of the International Institute of Sociology	151
"Leçons d'Anthropologie," by Daniel Folkmar	542
Organic Theory of Society	541
The Origin of Punishment	151
Origin of Totemism	359
Sociology in Institutions of Learning	153
Totemism	545

III. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

CONDUCTED BY EDWARD T. DEVINE.

Annual Reports of Charity Organization Societies in New York and Massachusetts	372
Care of the Insane	555

	PAGE
The Charities Chapter of the New Charter of the City of New York	556
Charities Directory of Frankfort a. M.	548
The "Charities Review"	370
Charity Organization in Hartford, Conn.	168
Charity Organization in Small Cities	550
Convict Labor	369
The Cuban Orphan Society	554
The Death Penalty as a Preventive of Crime	366
Housing Reform	547
Jubilee Congress of the Universal Association of Institutions for Mutual Help	167
Legal Aid for the Poor	164
Loans to the Poor	546
The Mutual Life Insurance Principle	163
National Conference (1900) Charities and Correction	376
National Conference (1901) Charities and Correction	551
Ohio State Conference on Charity	546
Prevention of Fires in Institutions	370
The Prevention of the Spread of Consumption	377
Proceedings of the Peabody Educational Fund	163
The Race Problem	158
School Gardens in Europe	363
Social Reform in New York	364
Tenement House Conditions	162
Tenement House Legislation in New York, 1852-1900	160
The Treatment of Consumptives	556
Vacant Lot Cultivation in Philadelphia	555
Wages in Siam and in Switzerland	548
Women Wage-Earners in New York	556

IV. COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

CONDUCTED BY JAMES T. YOUNG.

A Colonial Bureau of Information	173
Cuba	383, 559
The Cuban Census	177
German Colonies and Protectorates	558
Philippines	381, 558
Porto Rico	383
Ship Subsidies for Colonial Routes	560

CONTENTS.

xi

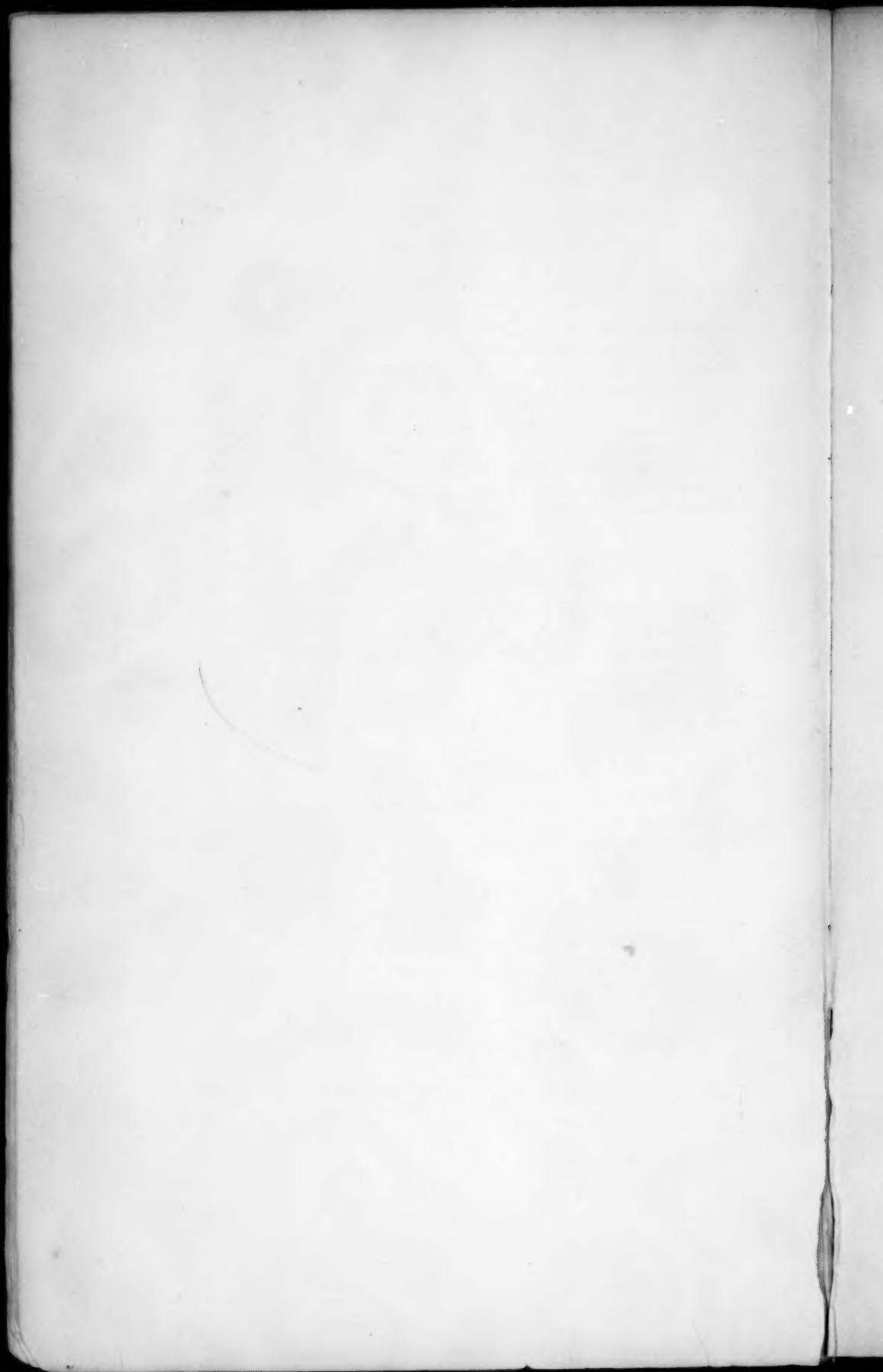
V. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

CONDUCTED BY EDWARD SHERWOOD MEADE.

	PAGE
Business Failures	391
Chicago Building Trades Dispute	567
Competition with the United States Steel Corporation	562
Difficulties in the Way of American Export Trade	390
Events in the Railroad World	386
Exploitation of Stockholders	388
Foreign Loans in the American Money Market	567
Recent Events in the Railway World	564
Review of American Stock Market	385
World's Demand for Timber and Supply	562

SUPPLEMENTS.

Massachusetts Labor Legislation, An Historical and Critical Study.
By Sarah Scovill Whittelsey, Ph. D. January, 1901. Pp. 157.
Handbook of the Academy. Supplement, May, 1901.



JAN.

1901.

ANNALS
OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY
OF
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

THE CAUSES OF THE UNPOPULARITY OF THE
FOREIGNER IN CHINA.¹

The subject under discussion—the cause of the unpopularity of foreigners in China—is a delicate one for me to handle. When I was asked to come to this meeting and give my views, my first impulse was to keep out of the way as far as possible. The reason did not lie so much in the difficulty of pointing out the causes as in the disagreeable features of the subject. I felt that, no matter how impartial and dispassionate I might be in treating it, I could not help stirring up a hornet's nest, and that, in any event, it would be a thankless task. But, after giving the matter due consideration, and seeing the various reasons given from time to time by different writers and speakers, some of which are correct while others seem to me insufficient, I considered it my duty, in view of the importance of the subject, to do my part in ascertaining the real causes and suggesting remedies for their removal. I felt that I ought not to shirk

¹ Address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science delivered on the evening of November 20, 1900. The other addresses delivered at the same time are summarized in the January *Bulletin* of the Academy.

the task, however unpleasant. So I have come here to-day to speak for myself as a Chinaman who has lived among foreigners and can speak from personal knowledge. I will endeavor to be impartial and just to all parties and not allow prejudice and bias to warp my judgment. My sole aim is to state all the facts and tell the truth and nothing but the truth.

We find that China, in ancient times, was not indisposed to trade and intercourse with the outer world. The foreigners who happened to set foot on Chinese soil in those days came from the neighboring countries in Asia. They traded with the people of China, intermingled freely with the natives, and were considered during their sojourn as Chinese. Thus they gave us no trouble, politically or socially. In fact, they adopted our customs and manners. All accounts agree that they lived peaceably with the natives. On the other hand, the Chinese never manifested any ill-feeling or animosity toward a foreigner who happened to be within their gates. We find this to be one of the injunctions of Confucius, who flourished in the fifth century before Christ: "Be kind to strangers from afar."

Coming down to later times, we find that foreigners in China were treated not only with kindness and consideration but with great respect. Even official posts were open to them. To give you one instance out of many, I will only mention Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveler of the Middle Ages. He visited China in 1274. He was so well received and respected that he obtained an official position under the government. He successively held the offices of privy councilor, assistant envoy and governor of Chihkiang. When he afterwards determined to return to his native country, his popularity was so great that the court was very reluctant to let him go. There is at the mouth of the Canton River in the southern part of China an old temple, known by the name of "Polo Temple." The inhabitants of the neighborhood say that it was dedicated to the

memory of some foreigner. But whether Marco Polo was that foreigner or not, I am not in a position to say. Thus it is apparent that the Chinese people originally were not opposed to the coming of foreigners to their country. Now it is an indisputable fact, as evidenced by the recent deplorable occurrences in North China, that there is a strong feeling against foreigners at the present day. The question is, How has this change come about? In order to find out the causes, we have to go back to the events that have taken place within the last half century. We find that foreigners from the west, though they were mostly honorable men, did not belong to the same class of persons as we had been accustomed to deal with. They came to China with their goods and wanted trade. They were different in color, in race, and in language. They did not observe our customs and manners. No sooner had they made their fortunes than they left China for good. Under these circumstances, it was natural that difficulties and disputes should often arise from misunderstanding, which, unfortunately, resulted in warfare.

It is not my purpose here to go into the causes which led to one war after another. Nor do I wish to be understood to say that China was always in the right. It is not to be expected that a nation which had lived in seclusion for centuries and had not learned the art of war as practiced at the present day, or the use of the modern engines of destruction, could come out of the struggle with any other than disadvantageous results. When the treaty of peace was made, China had to give her consent to many stipulations and conditions, granting extraordinary privileges to foreigners, not to mention the heavy indemnities she had to pay to the other side for the cost of every war. I do not, however, blame the western nations for resorting to force. No doubt, they had some provocation. But supposing you were in the position of the Chinese people, would you, after such an experience, bear no ill-feeling but still entertain friendly sentiments, toward those who had thus treated you? This,

gentlemen, is one of the causes that have made foreigners so unpopular in China. It should be remembered that, speaking generally, the Chinese have no intimate knowledge of foreigners, who all dress alike, and speak languages they do not understand; accordingly, they treat all foreigners alike.

It has been commonly supposed that missionaries are the sole cause of anti-foreign feeling in China, and that they are to be held responsible for the late uprising. I believe that this charge against them as a body is unfair. Before going any further, I wish to state that the missionaries in China, some of whom I know personally, are, with a few exceptions, respectable and honorable men. They have done a great deal of good in China by translating useful works into the Chinese language, and by publishing scientific and educational journals, which give valuable information to those Chinese who do not understand any foreign language. They have also established some schools in the country and thus advanced the cause of education. The medical missionaries especially have been remarkably successful in their philanthropic work. They have established free hospitals and dispensaries, and dispensed medicine to poor sick Chinese. In time of famine they have been foremost and active in affording relief to the distressed. In short, it is difficult to estimate the amount of good work done in educational and other lines by these good men and women.

On the other hand, we must not be blind to the fact that some of their brethren in their excessive zeal to convert Chinese to their faith have been indiscreet in their conduct. In order to get as many converts as possible, they have not been very particular in their examination of candidates who presented themselves for admission to church membership. They have not been careful in excluding those who wished to join the church with some other object in view than the laudable one of becoming true Christians. Frequently a Chinese asks that he be admitted to a church because by so

doing he hopes to secure foreign protection. Thus instances are not wanting of missionaries interfering in the administration of justice in Chinese courts, and using their influence to secure a favorable decision for their converts. Chinese officials naturally deem such interference on the part of missionaries in disputes or suits between purely Chinese subjects as an attempt to dictate the course of judicial procedure. I do not here refer to the merits of those cases in which Chinese converts are interested. Perhaps the native Christians have good cause for complaint. But the fact that the missionaries plead for one of the litigants naturally gives offence to the non-Christian Chinese on the other side. Hence another cause of unpopularity of foreigners among the Chinese.

By treaty, missionaries have a right to go to any part of China and reside there for the purpose of propagating their religious doctrines,—a right not possessed by other foreigners in China. Now foreigners in China reside in the treaty ports open to foreign trade, and the Chinese who live in those ports have an opportunity to come in contact with them. But in the interior, the general mass of the people very seldom see a foreigner. When a missionary comes among them, it can be easily understood that he cannot but excite a great deal of curiosity.

The other day I noticed in the *Century Magazine* an account of Dr. Crawford's experience as a missionary in the interior of China. He has been residing in that country with his wife for a half century. It is stated that when he first came to China to preach the gospel, he considered it hardly compatible with the dignity of an American citizen to adopt the Chinese dress, as the Western garb appeared to him an advantage in his mission, more liable to attract the attention and respect of the population in the different places he visited. In fact, no effort was needed to get an audience together, for great crowds usually collected about him, anxious to learn what the tall stranger with the

*missionaries
messing into
legal
affairs*

stovepipe hat, narrow trousers and leather boots had to say. But hardly had he begun to preach to them in their own language than they became bolder, investigated the cut of his coat and trousers, felt the materials between their fingers, touched his boots, and interrupted him continually with all sorts of questions—how the leather boots were put on and off, where he got the trousers, how much the materials cost and where he had learned their language. Tired of these continual interruptions, he at last determined to satisfy the curiosity of his listeners from the very outset. Arriving in the next village, he addressed the crowd assembled about him as follows: "Brothers, I hail from America; my trousers are made of wool stuff, to be got at Shanghai for two 'tiao' per yard; my boots are made of calf-skin, and are put on in the same way as the socks you are wearing; your language I acquired in Peking, and I have come to tell you about the true God," etc. This, however, satisfied the audience but little. They waited patiently until he had finished, and then, they again began questioning him about his trousers. Finally he became convinced that it was by far the best policy to adopt the Chinese dress, and for nearly fifty years he has worn no other. This shows the curiosity with which foreigners are regarded by the Chinese.

In every country foreigners with their distinctive national dress venturing into the unfrequented regions of the interior naturally attract the gaze and excite the curiosity of the natives. I am glad that some of the missionaries have adopted the Chinese dress, which, in my humble opinion, is more comfortable than any other. There are many others, however, who retain their national costume in China. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the missionaries, especially those who still retain their own national dress, to exercise the utmost discretion and caution not only in what they say but also in what they do. When persons of this character, in their peculiar position, preach a foreign doctrine in the interior, publicly condemning the cherished traditions of China,

proclaiming the worship of ancestors and idols to be a useless performance, and saying to their hearers that they must discard such practices and embrace the only true religion, as they call it, or else they will be condemned to everlasting fire—put yourselves in the position of the Chinese people, and you will have no difficulty in understanding their feeling under such circumstances! Is it unnatural that such actions should create unfavorable impressions among the natives with regard to foreigners? I do not blame the missionaries for their activity in preaching the gospel. It is their profession. Nor do I blame them for residing in the interior, because they are there in accordance with treaty stipulations. I only wish to point out the peculiar and delicate position in which these good men are placed. Some of them, no doubt, have been successful in their work without encountering much opposition. But in this world all men are not cautious and discreet, and missionaries are not exceptions to this rule.

The general attitude of foreigners toward the Chinese has had a great deal to do with the opinion and feeling entertained by the natives toward them. The Chinese are a receptive people and extremely susceptible of impressions and influences. They are not apt to forget either a favor or an injury. The former excites in their breast as much gratitude as the latter resentment. In case of an injury, though they may not retaliate, their feeling against the offender is none the less strong. This, I suppose, is human nature, which is the same the world over. The Chinese in this respect are following the precept of Confucius, who has taught them to "requite injury with justice and kindness with kindness." I confess that this is not so noble and grand as the Christian doctrine, "Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you." But this doctrine is so noble and grand that no weak and frail mortal, at least in our generation, has been able to attain to it. I am afraid that it has become a dead letter. At any

rate, I cannot recall from my limited experience a single person or nation that has ever acted up to that precept. Let us now examine the attitude of foreigners toward the natives in China. This is a delicate subject. Still, if you wish to know the truth, it is necessary to touch upon it, though the task is by no means a pleasant one. All foreigners in China enjoy special advantages and rights accorded to them by treaty. They do not come to the country by sufferance, but have a right to come and reside therein. Moreover, they carry with them the laws of their respective countries. The local authorities have no jurisdiction over them. They are only subject to the control of the officials of their own country. The natural consequence is that foreigners form a sort of privileged class with peculiar rights and advantages, which are denied to the natives, and, by reason of their freedom from local control, consider themselves as superior beings—more as lords of the country than as strangers in a strange land.

When they find the customs and manners of the country different from those to which they have been accustomed, they not only disregard them but often do not refrain from expressing their opinions in the most offensive way. The long-cherished traditions and institutions of the country are frequently treated by them with contempt. In this way they excite the ill-feeling of the natives. Moreover, their conduct toward the Chinese is, in other respects, by no means exemplary. Take, for instance, their business intercourse with the natives. Chinese merchants who go to foreign houses to give orders for goods have not always met with the courtesies and civilities due to men of their position. Instances are not wanting of customers being treated with positive rudeness. I am glad to find that such conduct has not been so noticeable in recent years. Again, the general mass of the people receive scant courtesy at the hands of foreigners. If you go to China and stay at any of the treaty ports, you will often see Chinese coolies caned and kicked

in the streets by foreigners without the least provocation. The beating of chair coolies and servants is also a matter of daily occurrence. I do not mean to say that the lower classes of Chinese do not sometimes try a man's patience, but the frequent infliction of corporal punishment by foreigners upon unoffending Chinese is what no fair-minded man would approve. Ill-considered acts of this kind are talked about, and greatly embitter the feelings of the natives against foreigners.

It is but fair to mention that there are foreigners in China, and these are not few, who treat the natives with every consideration and fairness, and entirely disapprove of the high-handed proceedings of other foreigners. For these good men I have nothing but words of gratitude and praise. But, unfortunately, the mischief done by the thoughtless and inconsiderate has more than counterbalanced the favorable impression created by them.

In this connection, I cannot help adverting to the character of the foreign press in China. Its general tone is calculated to set the whole Chinese nation against foreigners and things foreign. Take up any foreign newspaper published in China, and you will find that columns are devoted in almost every issue to denouncing the Chinese Government and its officials and condemning everything which the people hold dear and sacred. Far be it from me to assert that all Chinese officials are men of immaculate character. I admit that in China, as in every other country, some of the officials are unworthy of public trust. But the foreign newspapers in China lead one to believe that the Chinese Government is nothing but a sham; that the officials are all scoundrels; that the people are ground down by fearful oppression. It seems to be their settled policy to pick flaws in everything the Chinese do and begrudge even the small crumb of justice which is their due. If our government should adopt a certain policy, the motive for such a course would be sure to be misconstrued. If the provincial authorities should take

a certain step, even the best intentions would be distorted into something nefarious. The recent unfortunate uprising in China is a god-send to writers for the foreign press. It unfortunately furnishes them with just the kind of material for blackguarding the government and the people of China without stint. We Chinese representatives abroad, as well as many high officials and intelligent Chinese, deplore as deeply and denounce as strongly as does any foreigner the frightful atrocities recently perpetrated. It should be remembered that the violence of the Tientsin and Peking mobs was not directed against foreigners alone, but also against a large portion of their own countrymen. The number of pro-foreign Chinese, especially Cantonese, who lost their lives, families, property and all during those terrible days of mob rule was far greater than that of foreign victims. But since that lamentable outbreak, the Chinese people have been overwhelmed with obloquy and held up to the execration of the world without exception. The crimes committed by the Boxers are imputed to the machinations of the whole nation. Even the diplomatic representatives of China abroad have not escaped the general condemnation, but have been treated as *participes criminis*. Dr. Morrison, a correspondent of the London *Times* in Peking, went so far as to charge my colleague in London, Sir Chihchen Lofenglueh, and myself with barefaced mendacity in his telegraphic despatches. Here is a characteristic extract from one of his despatches:

"The most profound indignation is felt here (Peking) that Ministers Lo Fengluh and Wu Ting-fang, whose shameless lies and transmission of bogus Imperial Edicts delayed the departure of relief until it was nearly too late, are still received with honor in London and Washington."

I do not pretend to know the feeling of the besieged foreigners at Peking. But if Dr. Morrison voices the general sentiment, it only shows to what extreme people will sometimes go in indiscriminate condemnation. I can very

well understand how men and women, after being subjected to tremendous mental and bodily strain continually for a couple of months, may lose their equanimity and let their temper get the better of their judgment. Unless I am greatly mistaken, I do not, however, believe that a majority of the foreigners, who have been so cruelly confined in Peking, and with whom I deeply sympathize, entertain such profound indignation against Sir Chihchen and me as has been alleged by Dr. Morrison. I am led to this opinion, because I am told that Dr. Morrison is not always careful in his assertions, he having, some years ago, slandered the missionaries in China without just cause. When Dr. Morrison's absurd statement first appeared in the newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic, my colleague and myself immediately gave a flat denial. It is too charitable to expect a public apology from Dr. Morrison. But it seems to me quite extraordinary that the London *Times* should have not only ignored our reply, but even repeated in a late issue of that paper the charge of "shameless mendacity" against me without a tittle of proof. This clearly shows the prejudice of that journal. I know that a public man is liable to all insidious attacks and ought not to be too thin-skinned. As for myself, I hope to be able to live down all slanders of this kind. But the general mass of the Chinese people are not of so philosophical a turn of mind. When they see such sweeping attacks upon their country, their public men, their traditions and their institutions made by the foreign newspapers in China, is it a wonder that they entertain anything but a friendly feeling toward their slanderers?

I should like to mention that I and those Chinese who have a knowledge of some foreign language, as a rule, stand up for the foreigners in China, and for this reason we are generally regarded with suspicion by many of our conservative countrymen. It is rather disheartening for us to find that while incurring their displeasure, we have still to run the gauntlet not only of foreign criticism but also of foreign

slander. This seems like jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Events of recent years in China have done much to increase the bitter feeling already existing between the Chinese and the foreigners. The seizure of territory without proper compensation; the forcible taking of lands from their Chinese owners, who have been in continuous possession from time immemorial; the rough treatment received by those acting in defence of their rights, sometimes resulting in bloodshed—these have added fuel to the flame and contributed to the unpopularity of foreigners among the Chinese. In saying this, I do not wish to convey the impression that the Chinese are entirely free from blame. They are at fault in that they generally are over-suspicious of foreigners and do not study and appreciate the good points possessed by them. They have clung stubbornly to their old conservatism and remained content with the existing condition of things and unwilling to learn from the outside world. Many of them still think that the ancient civilization, which has existed for centuries, is still good for China in our day and generation, without any change to meet the requirements of modern life. If the Chinese had done as their enterprising neighbors, the Japanese, have done, they would doubtless stand higher to-day in the estimation of the world.

Now the question naturally arises, what are the remedies for this unsatisfactory state of things? I will endeavor to answer it to the best of my ability. First of all, foreigners should show more consideration for the feelings of the natives than they have done heretofore. Chinese customs and manners are not necessarily bad, because they happen to be different from the customs and manners of the peoples of the West. Foreign ways are not always the best. I would advise foreigners in China to be more sparing in their condemnation of things Chinese and to try to understand the people better. If they should observe anything that is really objectionable, they ought rather to use gentle

arguments. Let them remember that sweeping denunciations of other people's ways serve only to stir up ill-feeling and antagonism, and do not carry conviction with them.

In the next place, foreigners, in their intercourse with Chinese officials, merchants and educated men, should remember that true politeness is the same in China as in Europe or America. Chinese etiquette may appear at first sight too complicated for the Western mind; but at the bottom of it lies a tenderness for the feelings of others,—an idea which, I am sure, even the dullest mind can grasp. Above all, foreigners in China should not treat all Chinese with whom they come in contact as inferior to them in intellect or education and unworthy of their society, but should show their friendly feeling, which will no doubt be reciprocated. They should live among the people of the country and not keep themselves apart as being above them.

In the third place, the foreign newspapers in China, which are all owned and published by Europeans, should assume a more conciliatory tone toward the government and people of China. Many Chinese can read foreign papers. If the foreign press award honor and praise to whom honor and praise are due, these intelligent men will tell their countrymen that foreigners are, after all, not unfair or unjust. With regard to missionaries, since they have treaty rights to reside in the interior, it is not to be expected that they will give up such rights. These men have it in their power to create either a good or bad impression upon the natives as regards foreigners. As I have said before, they have, on the whole, done a great deal of good in China. I hope that, after this, missionary societies in this country and in Europe will send out to China only first-class men who have proved themselves to be men of intelligence, tact and discretion, and will weed out those who are impulsive, hot-tempered and indiscreet. It would contribute greatly to the success of the Christian cause if only medical missionaries were sent to China. These men and women, while they are quietly

dispensing medicines and healing diseases, can do a great deal toward enlisting the good-will and sympathy of the natives. If this is impracticable, I should like to see the non-medical missionaries establish schools and libraries for the advancement of Western learning and knowledge and of Western arts and sciences. This would be a means of getting the educated class on their side.

In conclusion, foreigners in China should not judge us according to their own standards. They should take account of both our good and our bad points, and give us credit for the former while making due allowance for the latter. Above all, they should assume a more conciliatory attitude in their intercourse with the natives, so as to overcome their distrust and hostility. It is unpleasant to be compelled to criticise other people. I do so now not in a carping spirit. My aim is to remove difficulties, create harmony, and increase the friendliness between China and other nations. The history of China's intercourse with Western nations has been a continuous chapter of misunderstanding. Mistakes have been committed on both sides. What has been done cannot be undone. But let us profit by our past experience and avoid similar mistakes in the future. My earnest hope is that there will be less friction and more cordiality and friendliness between the natives and foreigners. If what I have said will contribute, in any measure, however small, to that desired end, I shall feel amply repaid.

WU TING-FANG.

Chinese Embassy, Washington.

THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE.

The mine workers in the anthracite coal fields of Eastern Pennsylvania were ordered out on strike by President John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers of America, Wednesday, September 12, the strike to be inaugurated the following Monday, September 17. On the latter date, at the lowest estimate, 80,000 men and boys (the United Mine Workers claimed 100,000) laid down their tools and quit their accustomed tasks. Before the week closed 125,000 of the 140,000 anthracite mine employees in Pennsylvania were idle. The men remained away from their collieries forty-two days, their number increasing gradually until over 130,000 were involved. They resumed work in a body on Monday, October 29, after nearly every operator had conceded their more important demands and had promised to remedy the other grievances complained of. From less than 8,000 members from among the anthracite coal workers at the opening of the struggle, the United Mine Workers had increased its membership to over 100,000 before the strike was declared at an end. During the progress of the strike the production of anthracite coal was almost entirely suspended, the daily output being estimated at 10,000 tons. The price per ton, as quoted by the big companies at Philadelphia, rose from \$5.50, on the day the strike went into effect, to \$6.75, the day the strikers went back to work.

The importance and far-reaching effects of this great struggle between capital and labor were, of course, connected with the fact that practically all the hard coal mined in the United States and used as fuel by thousands of industries in the Eastern, Middle Western and Southern Atlantic States comes from the territory over which it extended. This great industry, involving the operation of 366 collieries and giving direct employment to 140,583

men and boys¹ is concentrated within an area of less than 490 square miles. In 1890 the capital invested in anthracite mining aggregated \$161,784,473. During the same year \$39,278,355 was paid in wages. The production of anthracite coal has increased, in half a century, from 3,358,899 long tons in 1850 to 54,034,224 long tons (valued at \$104,000,000) in 1899. According to the report of the State Bureau of Mines for 1899 this latter amount was mined in the ten counties of Carbon, Columbia, Dauphin, Lackawanna, Luzerne, Northumberland, Schuylkill, Sullivan, Susquehanna and Wayne. Luzerne, Lackawanna, Schuylkill, Northumberland and Carbon produced by far the largest amount.² All these counties lie in the hills and valleys of the Blue Ridge Mountains, extending from the headwaters of the Schuylkill and the Lehigh rivers northward and westward to the Susquehanna River. The deposits of coal they contain differ so greatly from one another—the formation of the coal and the conditions of mining in each vary so widely—that in trade circles the entire region has become divided into three distinct fields or districts, the Northern or Wyoming and Lackawanna, the Middle or Lehigh and the Southern or Schuylkill.

Into this small territory nine railroads have extended their lines and compete for the transportation of the coal. The intensity of this competition was what first induced the railroads to become mine owners. There are now three general classes of operators engaged in the production of anthracite coal—the railroad mine-owning companies, corporations not identified with the transportation system, and the "independent" or individual mine owners. Thirty years ago the

¹ Of the 140,583 employees, about 90,000 work inside the mines and 50,000 outside. Of the former 36,000 are miners, 24,000 laborers, 10,000 drivers, 3,000 door boys, 800 fire bosses, 500 foremen and 15,812 all others. Of the outside employees, 24,000 are slate pickers, 4,500 engineers and firemen, 2,000 blacksmiths and carpenters, 422 superintendents, 375 foremen and 18,703 all others.

² In 1899 Luzerne produced over 21,000,000 tons; Lackawanna, 13,000,000; Schuylkill, 12,000,000; Northumberland, 4,000,000, and Carbon, 1,000,000,—these five counties thus produced 51,000,000 of the total of 54,000,000 tons.

latter were practically the only operators in the anthracite fields. They now number less than one hundred, and for their own protection have organized themselves into the Anthracite Coal Operators' Association.

The tendency of the railroads to become operators first became marked in 1871. Repeated strikes resulting in the withdrawal of the coal shipments, upon which the earnings of the companies largely depended, coupled with the danger that still other transportation companies would invade the territory, induced the Reading Railroad and the other roads then in the region, at the close of the strike begun January 10, 1871, to take steps toward securing coal lands and opening mines. The first move of the roads was to raise freight charges, most of them doubling and one of them, the Reading, trebling their rates. These rates, as was intended, proved prohibitive; the operators who had resumed, at once closed their mines, and in a short time many of them had sold out to the railroads at what might be called forced sales. The tendency toward a close consolidation of interests on the side of the railroads began about the same period and still continues.¹ These companies now control

¹In 1898 "the controlling interest in the New York, Susquehanna & Western Company was acquired by the Erie Railroad Company largely increasing the latter's interest in the anthracite trade. The Delaware & Hudson Canal Company finally decided to abandon shipments by its canal from Honesdale to Rondout and made a closer contract with the Erie for its northern trade" (*The Mineral Industry*, Vol. VIII, page 169). In 1899 "purchasers of coal lands were unusually active. . . . The steel and iron companies have acquired reserves of fuel supplies and have bought many thousand acres of coal lands." In March, 1899, "the Temple Iron Company was formed and some extensive purchases of coal lands were made by the New York, Ontario & Western" (*The Mineral Industry*, Volume VIII).

This tendency among the railroads is having more far-reaching effects than that of merely driving out individual operators. The roads are rapidly overcoming the competition of the waterways in the transportation of the hard coal product. "Formerly a considerable share of the anthracite coal went to Buffalo by canal, but in recent years this traffic has somewhat decreased, and nearly all the anthracite delivered in Buffalo, either for consumption or shipment, is received over the railroad lines" (Page 144, Vol. III, *The Mineral Industry*). "The steady advances made by the (anthracite coal) combine have almost ruined the Missouri River trade" (Page 91, Vol. I, *The Mineral Industry*). The purchase of docks and yards in the large cities by the railroad companies some think also threatens the elimination of the small dealer.

approximately 75 per cent of the output of anthracite coal, over 60 per cent, according to reliable estimates, being controlled by the Morgan roads alone. As the sole carriers to tidewater, they easily regulate the production of the entire region, operating as they do in all three districts. The railroad mine-owning companies are the Philadelphia & Reading, the Lehigh Valley, the Central of New Jersey, the Pennsylvania, the Delaware & Hudson, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, the Erie and the New York, Susquehanna & Western, the Delaware, Susquehanna & Schuylkill, and the New York, Ontario & Western.¹

These companies not only fix the price of coal upon which depends the wages of the miners, but they are able to determine to what extent freight rates shall enter into that price at tidewater and at other points. The rates to tidewater, for operators not identified with the transportation systems, range from 40 to 68 per cent of the selling prices of the coal at tidewater, the rate depending on the coarseness of the product. The roads thus get on an average 40 per cent of the prices paid at tidewater points, leaving to the operator only 60 per cent. This proportion is now practically universal. Under this arrangement the roads virtually buy the coal at the mine and are then at liberty to sell it for a higher price at non-competitive points. At competitive points, on the contrary, the companies may cut the tidewater price. In this way the individual producer is prevented from being a factor in the market. Tidewater prices may be at one figure and prices at intermediate points at another. Very few, if any, of the individual operators are able to hold the

¹ In 1899 the production and shipments of anthracite coal for these roads was as follows:

	TONS.	PER CENT.
Philadelphia & Reading	9,684,000	20.3
Lehigh Valley	7,589,000	15.9
Central of New Jersey	5,393,000	11.1
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western	6,372,000	13.5
Pennsylvania Coal Company	2,347,000	4.9
Delaware, Hudson & Lackawanna	6,430,000	13.6
Other roads	9,851,000	20.7

market and sell their coal at the best price obtainable at any and all points.

For years bitter wars have been waged by the individual operators against the railroads on account of the exorbitant freight rates. In 1898 the charges by the roads for the transportation of coal became such a serious burden to the towns in the coal region that an organization, called the Anthracite Association, was formed among the chambers of commerce of a number of the cities for the purpose of securing lower freight rates to New York and Philadelphia, and doing away with alleged discriminations. In this way they hoped to lower the selling price and stimulate the consumption of hard coal. The association met with little success. About the same time individual operators in the vicinity of Scranton and Wilkesbarre also took active steps to break away from the conditions imposed by the railroads by having surveyors lay out a road from Scranton to New York. This road when completed was to be called the New York, Wyoming & Western. Nothing beyond surveying the route has yet been done. In one instance, that of Coxe Brothers & Company, also known as the Cross Creek Coal Company, operating in the Lehigh district, the Lehigh Valley Railroad was forced to grant the company the special privilege of running its own cars and engines, manned by its own employees, in special trains over the tracks of that railroad to tidewater. This privilege was secured, however, only because this company built a railroad (the Delaware, Susquehanna & Schuylkill) connecting with all its mines and enabling it at any time to transfer its entire custom to a competing road. As a general thing, the railroads are in a position to charge the highest rate the traffic will bear, making good any losses they suffer as coal mining companies out of their profits as transportation corporations.¹ They charge more for carrying a ton of hard

¹ "The Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company reports the running expenses nearly equal to receipts, leaving nothing to pay interest on its liabilities,

coal one mile than is charged in Western Pennsylvania for carrying soft coal four miles.

But there is an even worse phase to this railroad domination in the anthracite coal fields. The demand for hard coal has always been, year in and year out, less than could be supplied. More mines are opened and in operation than are necessary to meet this demand. The total production of all the mines now open, if run the year round, (taking 300,000 tons, the daily output for each producing day in 1899, as a fair estimate of the daily capacity and 250 as the maximum number of producing days in a year), would be 75,000,000 tons.¹ In 1899 the total production was only 54,000,000 tons, the average number of working days being only 180. The competition among the railroad mine-owning companies is so keen that none of them are willing to close down anyone of their mines so long as there is enough profit to pay for running it for only half the year. Here is an enormous waste both of capital and labor. The greater part of the former is fixed capital and the charges on it are but little changed, whether the plants are running or idle. During the time when the mine laborer is out of employment there is no other occupation in the coal fields to which he can devote his energies so as to increase his earnings. He must make enough during the days he does work to support himself and his family through the whole year.

while the Lehigh Valley Coal Company's product costs it more than it receives for it. However, most of these concerns transport their own coal and realize their profits in its carriage. The Pennsylvania Coal Company, which confines itself strictly to mining, obtains low rates of freight from the railways, and pays regular dividends. This company, however, has the exceptional advantage that its coal lands were bought many years ago at a small cost and it is not obliged to pay heavy royalties or interest on extravagant first-cost of property, as "many of its competitors do."—*The Mineral Industry*, Page 167, Vol. VII.

¹ If the miner worked 250 days the daily capacity would decrease. The time the men work at the different collieries is judged by the time the breaker is in operation. But the miners and other mine employees work during days when the breaker is idle in cleaning up their working places or breasts and in getting the product in such condition as to be able to get out the greatest quantity possible on the days when the breaker is running. Under these conditions the miner, it is estimated, works on the average four-fifths of the year, while the time, as given by the operation of the breaker, may be put at a little over one-half the year.

With a capacity to produce anthracite coal so much above consumption, some form of agreement among the operators was absolutely necessary. It is plain that the tendency of such an agreement would be to keep the poor mines, which should be shut down, running and to limit the good mines in their output. An agreement of this nature does exist among the operators.¹ Whether it be called a "trust," a "combine," a "pool," or by some other name less unsavory to the consumer is immaterial. Among the operators it is known as "an understanding among gentlemen." By this agreement each colliery has "allotted" to it monthly a certain number of tons as its product for the ensuing month. In this way the entire output, estimated beforehand by the sales-agents at a general meeting, is distributed among all the collieries. These sales-agents at the same meeting agree upon "circular" prices, and recommend to the operators a restriction of the total tonnage to the amount they have estimated that the market will take at the prices fixed. This understanding, appearing so nicely on paper, does not and cannot, so long as there is no stronger sanction back of it, successfully regulate the output. All that is necessary to break it is for a given colliery to increase its output above the "allotment" in consequence of a special order for coal placed with it. The fact of the matter seems to be that these "recommendations" are continually ignored. In any case the statistics of production show that the collieries rarely, if ever, keep within the allotments.

This operating of too many mines has a disastrous effect upon the miner. It keeps constantly on hand an oversupply of labor, thus limiting the number of working days² and

¹ The first step among the operators to combine to restrict production and maintain prices was taken as far back as 1872. Prior to that year, however, the miners tried, in 1869, to "make such arrangements as will enable the operator and the miner to rule the coal market," and the way the miners went about this was to propose to the operators that after that time their wages be based upon the selling price of coal. It was with this object in view that the sliding scale was adopted in the Schuylkill and Lehigh fields.

² The anthracite miner did not average more than 204 days from 1890-93; 100 days were about the average from 1894 to 1897; he worked 150 days in 1898 and 180 days in 1899.

causing irregular employment to prevent over-production. But worse even than this, it has led to the introduction of the cheap pauper labor of Europe with its low standard of living.

All the blame for the introduction of Hungarians, Poles, Slavs and Italians into the hard coal region cannot perhaps be laid at the door of the operators. The miner may be, in part, held responsible, in that in order to make the most out of work in the mines he has taken under contract, he has striven to secure the cheapest labor possible. The miners themselves claim that this course has been forced upon them by the operators. In substantiation of this claim it is certain that these low types of European labor, about which so much complaint is heard to-day, did not begin to come into the anthracite coal fields until about 1875, four years after the railroads began to become coal-operating companies. This class of labor was increased no doubt by the act of Congress passed in 1874 "to encourage immigration." It is well-known that at that time companies were formed to carry out the intention of Congress. Within five years, by 1880, the Huns, Poles, Slavs and Italians had begun to increase in such large numbers as to threaten to drive out the English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh and German miners. With their low standard of living they soon forced down the rate of wages, and it was this that caused the strike of 1887-88.

These foreign laborers are still pouring into the coal region in an ever-increasing number.¹ They have invaded every district and even every mining town throughout the three fields. The English-speaking miner with his higher and better ideals and wants is unable to compete with this new labor and is being forced to abandon his occupation for some other or sink to worse conditions in life. In nearly every breaker old men—men appearing very old even when in middle life—can be found seated alongside the breaker boys

¹Statistics on this very important subject collected by the census of 1900 are not ready for publication. My conclusion is drawn from personal observation during a seven weeks' stay in the anthracite coal region.

picking slate for seventy-five to ninety cents a day. They passed from the cradle into the mines as breaker boys: they pass out of the mines into the grave as breaker boys.

✓The English-speaking miner demands a neat two-story frame house with from four to seven rooms, with a front porch and yard attached. He wants none but his own immediate family or very near relatives with him. The non-English-speaking miner will live in a one-room hut built by his own hands on a hill-side, of drift-wood gathered at spare moments from along the highway. In not a few of these huts the most conspicuous articles of furniture are mere bunks built in rows along the wall. He is not particular with whom or with how many he lives except that they must be of his own nationality. Nor is he as fastidious about his dress as his English-speaking brother. The foreigner seems to have no particular objection to cast-off clothes. In a funeral procession of over 5,000 strikers, nearly all of whom were foreigners, at Shenandoah, nearly every man wore clothes long out of fashion—hats, coats and trousers either bought by some second-hand dealers in the large cities and sent to the coal fields to be disposed of or purchased by the foreigners upon landing in this country. The English-speaking miner, as a general thing, wants his suit to be new even if it must be of a cheaper grade of cloth. As to material the foreigner is the best clothed miner in the anthracite fields.

These are a few of the many differences between the English-speaking miner and the European laborer, showing the source of the advantage of the latter in competition. Another advantage, especially on the side of the Poles, is that they will venture into dangerous places to mine coal where few of the other nationalities will go. The Italians, on the other hand, will not, as a rule, go into the mines at all. Their competition is thus confined to outside work. Under the laws of Pennsylvania the foreigner, as well as others intending to become miners, is required to spend two years as

a laborer in the mine before he can become a miner, but this law is violated more often than it is obeyed, even by those for whose protection it was enacted. The certificates which every miner must show when he applies for work are handed about with as little regard to the law as are railroad passes among politicians.

In the districts of the anthracite region are employed some fourteen different nationalities: Americans, Austrians, English, Germans, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Russians, Swedes, Slavs and Greeks. Of the Poles, Huns and Italians, Dr. Virtue in his article on "The Anthracite Mine Laborers," published by the Department of Labor in its Bulletin of November, 1897, says:

"The United States census of 1890 shows the total number of these nationalities in the five anthracite counties to be 28,216. This is 10,307 less than the foreign-born Irish in the same counties, 5,627 less than the foreign-born Germans and Austrians combined, while of English there were 22,729 and of Welsh 23,404. There is no means of knowing the number of the various nationalities employed at the mines, but it is certain that a far greater proportion of the Polish, Hungarian and Italian population are so employed than of the other nationalities named. A fairly accurate indication of the number and growth of this class for the last half dozen years may be had from the following figures furnished by the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company, showing the 'nationality and percentage,' but not the place of birth, of the employees at their mines in 1890, 1895 and 1896:

Number and per cent of the various nationalities employed at the collieries of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company, 1890, 1895, 1896.

NATIONALITY.	1890.		1895.		1896.	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
American	4,719	19.1	5,765	20.6	5,838	20.6
English	2,088	8.4	1,960	7.0	1,799	6.3
Irish	6,887	27.8	6,450	23.0	6,025	21.3
German	3,709	15.0	3,471	12.4	3,207	11.3
Scotch	210	.9	223	.8	168	.6
Welsh	1,282	5.2	1,112	4.0	1,037	3.7
Polish	4,287	17.3	5,955	21.3	6,895	24.3
Hungarian	1,466	5.9	2,800	10.0	3,180	11.2
Italian	86	.4	245	.9	211	.7
Total	24,734	100.0	27,981	100.0	28,360	100.0

"These figures account for about 70 per cent of the mine laborers of the Southern field. Assuming the same proportions for the whole region, there are not far from 50,000 of the class of which most complaint is made employed at the anthracite mines. The table shows a rapid increase of the class since 1890. In that year the three nationalities formed 23.6 per cent of the employees of the Reading collieries. In 1896 they formed 36.2 per cent. It may be said that the estimates of this element of the population are invariably higher than here set down. But those estimates are usually based upon impressions rather than the actual returns from the collieries."

Contemporaneous with this increase of European labor in the anthracite fields there has been a noticeable decrease in the last four years in the total number of men employed in the production of hard coal, due partly to the introduction of machinery and partly to a more intelligent direction of labor. From 1890 to 1896 the number of employees increased from 109,166 to 149,670; but in 1897 the employees numbered 149,557; in 1898, 142,420; and in 1899, 140,583.¹

These are the more important general conditions affecting the production of anthracite coal. Weak and defenceless as the individual miner was against such forces he, for long, could do nothing to prevent what, to many, seemed inevitable—a gradual decrease in earnings and a consequent lowering of his standard of living.

The miserable condition of the anthracite mine workers had for several years engaged the attention of the United Mine Workers of America. In fact, ever since the partial success of that organization in the bituminous fields of Western Pennsylvania, in 1897, its officers have had in view a betterment of the condition of the hard coal miner. In that year this organization succeeded in having adopted in the soft coal region an agreement between the operators and the miners in accordance with which their representatives now meet annually, about April 1, in joint convention and

¹ This decrease in the number of laborers has not resulted in any decrease in production, as is shown by the following figures: In 1890 the production was 40,069,355 tons; in 1896, 48,074,330; 1897, 46,947,354; 1898, 47,145,174; and in 1899, 54,034,224 tons.

determine, among other things, upon the wages of the mine workers for the ensuing year. Prior to this time members of the organization had gone into the Lehigh and Schuylkill districts and by 1896 had formed about ninety-four locals. It was not until 1899, however, that members of the National Executive Board and National Organizers were stationed in the anthracite region. For more than a year before the strike was begun these men were at work preparing the miners for the struggle.

The monumental task which they accomplished in such a short time cannot be even imagined by one unfamiliar with the actual conditions in the anthracite region. They had to organize men of fourteen different nationalities and with almost as many different languages, religions, customs, and standards of living; they had to allay distrust on all sides, born partly of ignorance and partly of a past full of failures in efforts to attain the very objects that the United Mine Workers were striving for; they had to overcome a most bitter feeling of jealousy and hatred which had grown up between the miners of the three fields as a result of past strikes, and they had to encounter conditions of mining differing to such an extent in the separate districts as to make almost impossible common and general grievances. These representatives of organized labor went before the men of the anthracite region with a history on nearly every page of which was written failure in strikes undertaken and destruction to every union which had attempted to fight the miners' battle. They had to confront living witnesses among the old and more influential miners who foretold the failure of any and all efforts directed to securing for the men better conditions, and who testified that the condition of the miners after strikes had heretofore in all cases been worse than the state of living which preceded. Not only were all these almost insurmountable obstacles to be overcome before a strike could be called, but the United Mine Workers of America had to deal with a normal surplus of labor, and

men bidding against each other for work ; they had to face a market over-supplied with coal ; they had to meet the ever present danger of inability, at critical times, to guide and control the storm they were arousing ; they had to fight the bitter, and, at times, almost crushing opposition to organized labor of the operators and railroads. That the union successfully met and overcame these obstacles is more to the credit of the organization and its officials even than the successful outcome of the strike.

The strike itself was the most successful—practically the only successful one—ever conducted in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania. It was the first time in the history of hard coal mining in the United States that the entire region had been involved in a strike for an increase in wages. All previous strikes, with the possible exception of that of 1887-88, were to prevent reductions in wages. That there were general grievances among the men in all three districts is shown by the large number of mine workers who laid down their tools and extinguished their lamps on the first day of the strike. Never before had the anthracite mine workers been brought to realize the solidarity of interest that they recognized on that day.

When the United Mine Workers of America went into the territory¹ to organize the men, it took the three fields into which the region had been divided in trade circles and made of each a separate district, with a president at its head. The Northern field was called District 1, the Middle, District 7, and the Southern, District 9. The men of the Wyoming and Lackawanna field (District 1), were the first to be thoroughly organized under the banner of the union, and naturally they were the first to take steps looking toward an amelioration of their condition. Before the inauguration of the strike, at a meeting of this district held at Scranton

¹ The Miners and Laborers' Amalgamated Association and the Knights of Labor were both destroyed in the anthracite coal fields by the failure of the strike of 1887-88. The Workingmen's Benevolent Association had met a like fate in the strike of 1875, as had also Bates' Union in 1869.

in January, President Mitchell was petitioned by the mine-workers of the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys to call a general strike of all anthracite miners. After conferring with the presidents of Districts 7 and 9, the petition was refused. At their next quarterly meeting in April steps were taken to secure a meeting of the miners from all three districts, and in July the union mine workers of District 1, at a convention held at Pittston, petitioned the National Executive Board to call a convention of all three districts. This petition was granted, and on August 13 a joint convention was held at Hazleton. This convention invited the operators to meet representatives of the miners in joint convention in Hazleton, on August 27, at the same time detailing the grievances under which the anthracite mine workers were laboring, and which they desired to have remedied. The operators were unrepresented when the subsequent convention was called to order. The miners then drafted a scale of wages for each district together with general conditions of employment, and asked of the National Executive Board permission to strike for its adoption and for the redress of other grievances, provided the officials of the organization should not be able to effect a settlement within ten days after the application was made. Efforts on the part of interested parties to settle the difficulties peaceably, through arbitration or other means, postponed the declaration of the strike from September 8, the date when the ten days expired, to September 12. In the meantime the operators as a class did nothing toward preventing the threatened conflict. They were loud in their claims after the strike began that no complaints of any kind had been made to them by their employees, and that all they knew of grievances existing among the men had been conveyed to them through the newspapers.

The scales of wages demanded by the Hazleton convention differed for the three districts, but similar conditions of

employment were to apply as far as possible to the whole region.¹ These conditions of employment were:

- (1) "An advance of 20 per cent on all day labor now receiving less than \$1.50 per day; 15 per cent over present prices on all classes of day labor now receiving \$1.50 and not over \$1.75 per day, and 10 per cent advance on all day labor receiving more than \$1.75 per day."
- (2) "Abolishment of the sliding scale system now in practice in the Lehigh and Schuylkill regions."
- (3) "No miner shall have at any time more than one breast, gangway or working place, and shall not get more than his equal share of cars or work."
- (4) "Abolishment of the erroneous system of having 3,360 pounds to the ton, and that 2,240 pounds shall constitute a ton."
- (5) "A checkweighman shall be hired by the miners, and allowed to represent them on the head of each breaker, and see that the weight is correct, and that the dockage is fair."
- (6) "Reduction in the price of powder to \$1.50 per keg."
- (7) "Abolishment of the company store system."
- (8) "Abolishment of the company doctor system for miners and compulsion to pay one."
- (9) "Compliance with the State law which says that all industrial concerns shall pay their employees semi-monthly and in cash."

These conditions of employment, taken separately or collectively, are in their final analysis demands for an increase in wages.

The wage problem in the anthracite coal fields is a most complicated one. The difficulties in the way of a satisfactory treatment of it are almost insurmountable. Here are at work not only the natural forces tending in most occupations continually to force wages to a lower level, but also artificial means to complicate and aggravate the situation and to keep the earnings of the miner at the lowest possible point.

In the first place the cost of production is not the same in

¹ In the Schuylkill district powder was already selling at \$1.50 a keg. The sliding scale had never been in use in the Wyoming and Lackawanna district. The company store and company doctor systems were not in force at all the collieries.

any two mines.¹ This is due principally to natural conditions, *i. e.*, the formation of the seams and the quality of the coal. In some mines the coal lies horizontally, as in parts of the Wyoming and Lackawanna district. Here the coal is taken out mostly by sinking shafts from the surface to strike the coal in the basin or centre of the valley, so that it may be run by gravity to the foot of the shaft from either side of the basin. In other places the coal lies in an inclined position and is reached by slopes sunk from the surface and run with the pitch of the seam. In still other places the deposit comes so near the surface that the upper crust of dirt and stone is removed and the coal is then mined in what is called a stripping. Then again there is the drift mine, in which a tunnel is driven horizontally through the seam into the mountain side where the coal outcrops. The cost of mining varies in these different kinds of mines. A difference in the cost of mining in different mines is also due to the quality and quantity of coal in the seam. In some places the deposit is of the very best anthracite, containing comparatively little slate or other refuse, while in other places it is so full of impurities as to barely pay the cost of mining. The seam also varies in different mines, being only two feet wide in some and as thick as 100 feet in others. In some mines the coal has to be mined from a greater depth and in more dangerous places. Besides these and other natural conditions, there are many artificial causes making a difference in the cost of production in the various mines. In some, more timber is needed than in others; in some, more coal has to be left for pillars; in others, more water has to be pumped out; there are also differences in cost in tracks, haulage, ventilation and supervision. In every district, however,

¹ "There are few published reports as to the present cost of mining and marketing anthracite coal, but figures are available for some of the companies. Mining costs the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company \$1.34 per ton; the Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company, \$1.31; the Lehigh Valley Coal Company, \$1.90; and the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company, \$1.71. It costs the Delaware & Hudson 41 cents per ton additional to market the product, and the Philadelphia & Reading \$1.13.—*The Mineral Industry*, Page 167, Vol. VII.

there are several mines operated that barely pay their owners for being kept in working. These are the marginal mines. The day the strike went into effect and the men left the collieries, announcement was made by several of the operators that they would allow certain of their mines to fill with water and abandon the plants for good, the reason being that the cost of keeping the mines in repair, free from the accumulation of gas and the collection of water, would be more than the plant was worth. For a year or more these mines had barely been meeting expenses.

The conditions of mining, it will thus be seen, are different not only in the several districts, but even in different collieries in the same field. This makes a uniform rate of wages for the entire region or a general plan for determining the rate almost impossible. Such a plan would in some cases work to the injury of a particular operator, and in others to the detriment of the employees of certain companies.

These natural differences are partly but not wholly responsible for the different systems of paying the wages of the mine workers. The rate of wages is arrived at by one scale in the Lehigh district and by a different scale in the Schuylkill, while a third plan is employed in the Wyoming and Lackawanna district. The rates in consequence differ in all three fields, as well as between different collieries in the same field. Even in the same colliery the same rate is not paid to all the men. The inside employees get one price for their work, the outside employees another, and the breaker boys and old men are paid a third. Of the inside employees the miners get one rate, the laborers another, the drivers and runners a third, door boys and drivers' helpers a fourth, while other inside men get still another. So it is with the outside men. Engineers and firemen get one rate, carpenters and blacksmiths another, slate pickers a third and other outside men a fourth. Even among the miners themselves in nearly every colliery men may be found working some at so much per yard, and others at so much per ton and still

others at so much per car. Nor do all the men working by the yard receive the same rate, the kind of passage driven and the use or non-use of timber affecting the price. Even the time worked, which is a very important element in determining the wages of the miner, is not the same in all the collieries nor for all classes of workmen in the same colliery. In fact, at the time of the strike, a general inequality of wages existed throughout the districts even where the seams, mode of working and general conditions were similar. Different men doing similar work, even in the same colliery, were paid differently.

For years, indeed ever since 1869, the miner of the Lehigh and Schuylkill districts has had his rate of wages determined by the selling price of coal. The miner was and is still an employer of labor as well as an employee. The gross wages he receives depends upon the number of days he works, the presence of little or much slate or refuse in the coal he mines, the number of pounds he has to dig to make a ton and upon the temper of the docking boss. His net wages depend upon the rate he is compelled to pay his laborers¹ and the number of laborers he has to employ, the prices he has to pay for powder, squibs, oil, and for keeping his tools in repair and on numerous other conditions beyond his control. As a consequence of these complications the miner may put forth the same amount of energy to-day as yesterday without obtaining the same wage for both days. The same man working in different seams will make different wages; two different men working next to each other in the same seam will not make the same wage. No miner not under the day-wage system, and not always the latter, can tell how much his earnings will be at the end of the month or when pay day comes around.

Despite all this confusion, it can be said generally that

¹ In the Wyoming and Lackawanna district the miner is compelled to pay his helper or laborer one-third of his gross earnings. It must be remembered that the laborer is not employed by the operator but by the miner himself.

there are two systems of paying wages in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania—the contract and the day-wage systems. The former includes the car or volume, and the yard or measure plans, which are in use in all three districts, and the ton or weighing plan, which is used only in the upper Wyoming and Lackawanna field. About 90 per cent of the miners in both the Wyoming and Lackawanna and the Schuylkill districts and 80 per cent of those in the Lehigh field work under the contract system. The others are paid day wages. The miners working under contract are the best paid workmen about the collieries.

The car or volume plan of paying the miner is generally in vogue in the Lehigh and Schuylkill districts and in certain collieries in the Wyoming and Lackawanna field. The price paid the miner for mining and loading a car ranges from 80 cents to \$1.22, the cars containing from 96 to 161 cubic feet each. In those mines where the car plan is in use the price paid the miner is fixed, depending on the character of the vein and the size of the car. This price must of necessity be different in different collieries. Under the yard or measure plan the rate of mining in the Lehigh district was fixed at $43\frac{3}{4}$ cents to $49\frac{1}{2}$ cents for 48 cubic feet, the extra eight feet (40 cubic feet of coal making on the average a ton) counted, so it was understood by the miner, as refuse. Where the ton or weighing plan was in use 65 to $71\frac{1}{2}$ cents was the price paid per ton of from 2,750 to 3,360 pounds the extra weight (2,240 pounds making a ton) being for refuse.

In the Lehigh field, where about 15,000 men and boys are employed, the rate of wages has been regulated since 1869, by what is known as the sliding scale. According to this scale, when the prices of anthracite coal averaged \$5.00 per ton at tidewater points, miners were to receive for mining and loading coal, 87 cents per car. Generally skilled miners working by the day received 21 cents an hour, or \$12.60 a week of 60 hours, and first-class laborers \$10.80 a week.

On this \$5.00 basis there was a ten per cent sliding scale. For every ten cents above \$5.00, for which the coal would sell at tidewater, the miner would receive one cent and the operator nine cents¹; in case the price of coal fell below \$5.00, the same rate was to apply in reducing the wages. In the mines of G. B. Markle & Company the rates were as follows: Oakdale first, 96 cents per car; Oakdale second, \$1.17 per car; Highland first, \$1.20 per car; Highland second and Highland fifth, \$1.24 per car. Inside wages were to be as follows: Miners 21 cents per hour; gangway labor, 18 9-10 cents per hour; platform labor, 17 2-10 cents per hour; company men and three mule drivers, 18 cents per hour; two mule drivers, 14 6-10 cents per hour; single mule drivers, 12 8-10 cents per hour. Gangways were to be paid for at \$4.75 per yard; airways, \$3.16 per yard; cross-cuts, \$1.88 per yard; opening breasts, narrow, \$24.80; opening breasts, wide, \$8.00. The above prices and wages constituted the basis. When the prices (of the New York Lehigh Coal Exchange Monthly Circular) averaged \$1.00 more or \$1.00 less than the above \$5.00 average, f. o. b. (at Perth Amboy, N. J.), there was to be a corresponding rise or fall of ten per cent on the above basis, except the gangway per yard, which was always to be the same as the average of the monthly prices, and airways per yard, cross-cuts per yard and opening breasts, narrow and wide, which rose and fell on the same percentage as the gangway rose and fell. There was to be no change in prices and wages of less than one per cent at any time.

The scale for the Schuylkill district affected about 55,000 men. It was adopted at the same time as the Lehigh scale, and differed from the latter in that it took as the basis for determining the rate of wages of the miner the selling price of coal at Port Carbon, with a 33⅓ per cent sliding scale.

¹The operator would not receive a net gain of nine cents per ton, as the other classes of labor in and about the mines would also get an advance of one cent. The illustration is to show the effect the sliding scale has on the contract miner.

When this scale was adopted Port Carbon, on the Schuylkill River two miles above Pottsville, was an important interior shipping point. When coal sold there for \$2.50 per ton, the miners were paid \$2.00 per day of ten hours for skilled labor, this being the basis price. The miners not working on contract (about ten per cent of the total number) were to receive \$12 per week; inside laborers, \$10.20; outside laborers, \$8.10. When the price of coal went above the basis the miner was to receive one-third the increase (if the price advanced three cents, he was to get one cent); when it fell below that price he was to stand a reduction in his wages of one-third the price. The method of deciding upon the price of coal at Port Carbon was to choose by lot five collieries from the total number in the lower field shipping 30,000 tons or more. The collieries selected made returns of the prices paid them for their product, prepared sizes, *i. e.* from lump to chestnut, at Port Carbon. Then the average of these prices determined the wages for the month.¹

In the Northern or Wyoming and Lackawanna district and at those collieries in the Lehigh field where the sliding scale has never been in force a large percentage of the mining has been done on the car or volume plan at a certain fixed price per car. Some of the companies in these fields also paid according to the ton or weighing plan, a number of them in the upper Wyoming and Lackawanna district using the ton system exclusively. In the Northern field wages are admitted to have been higher than the basis rate under the sliding scale, but as to net earnings there has been practically no appreciable difference between the miner in the Northern field and his fellow worker in the Middle and Southern districts.

¹From a table published by Dr. Virtue, in the Bulletin of the Department of Labor, for November, 1897, it is shown that in the 108 months from January, 1888, to December, 1896, the average price returned from the collieries drawn to determine the monthly rate of wages, was in 32 of them above the basis (\$2.50), and in 76 below the basis. The highest the price ever went above the basis was 46 cents (\$2.96), while the lowest below was 33 cents (\$1.97).

The objection of the miner to the sliding scale was that since they were no longer represented¹ at the drawing of the collieries upon which wages in the Schuylkill district depended the system could be used arbitrarily by the operators. It is enough to say that under the conditions they distrusted the returns made. The system, once the plan of the miners to secure what they thought their just share of the product of their labor, had become, from the miners' point of view, a means by which the operators could keep wages below the basis. Their feeling on the matter was tersely expressed by a transparency carried in one of the monster parades at Wilkesbarre which said: "Our wages are based upon an antiquated sliding scale that invariably slides downward."

Another objection was that certain changes had come about in the mining and marketing of coal since the scale was adopted which would make a lower basis necessary if they were to secure just wages. These changes, which were principally in the production of larger amounts of "small sizes" of coal which sell in the market at lower prices than the former sizes, they claimed, kept the average price per ton at both Port Carbon and tidewater points below the basis price. In consequence their wages under the system would nearly always be below the basis rate. If the system was to be continued, they argued, the basis rate should be lowered to conform with the lower level of prices. It is true, as Dr. Virtue says, in the article before referred to, that these "small sizes" are not "included in the average prices upon which wages are based in the Schuylkill region, but 'chestnut' is, and the proportion of this size which sells for twenty-five or thirty cents below stove coal has greatly increased compared with the higher-priced sizes." While this, in a way, is as much to the disadvantage of the operator as of the miner it must be remembered that now the

¹ The destruction of their organizations in the strike of 1887-88 left the miners without the power to demand their right of representation at the drawings.

operator sells what was heretofore waste dug along with the coal and dumped in the culm banks and for which he formerly had to pay the cost of handling with no return.

The power the railroads have secured in recent years to fix the price of coal through freight charges has also made the sliding scale objectionable to the miners. The Lehigh miners found that tidewater prices, upon which their wages were based, were nearly always lower than prices in the interior markets, in which were sold two-thirds of the product. The Schuylkill miners, whose wages were based upon the price of coal at Port Carbon, were not long in finding out that with the product at a certain price at tidewater the higher the freight rate the lower the price of coal at Port Carbon. It was a scale that could be worked two ways by the railroads, and always to the detriment of the miners.

Such being the conditions of wages in the anthracite fields, it is difficult to get at the average wage. The operators claimed during the strike that "the wages of miners average from \$2.00 to \$4.00 per day. In fact the rates paid for mining labor compare favorably and are as high, if not higher, than the rates paid for the same class of labor by railroads and other industries." The officials of the United Mine Workers of America, in their statement to the public, claimed that the average wages of the anthracite miner for many years had been less than \$250 annually.

For the purpose of ascertaining what miners earn who are industrious and able to work whenever employment is offered, Mr. A. S. Bolles, in 1888 and 1889, made an investigation¹ of the earnings of the most and of the least skillful miners during those years. He secured this information by asking the operator of each colliery for the monthly earnings of the ten most skillful and industrious contract miners employed in his colliery, and also the number of days they worked. The same facts were sought with respect to the

¹ Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs for Pennsylvania, Part III, for 1888 and 1889.

least skillful. The result showed the aggregate earnings of the 450 anthracite coal miners in 45 collieries, who were classed as the most skillful, representing those who earned the largest amounts in such collieries, to be \$330,327.80, or \$734.06 per man. The average daily earnings were \$2.98 per man, and the average number of days each miner worked was 246. The highest average daily wage paid by any one of the 45 collieries to the 10 most skillful miners employed therein was \$4.08, an average yearly earning, working 203 days, of \$804.40. The lowest average daily wage paid the 10 most skillful miners was \$2.02, an average yearly earning, working 265 days, of \$538.24. The highest daily wage paid the 10 least skillful miners was \$2.75, an average yearly earning, working 217 days, of \$597.32. The lowest daily wage paid the 10 least skillful miners was \$1.31, an average yearly earning, working 231 days, of \$302.24. In the inquiry continued in 1889, the miners in each colliery being divided into ten equal groups according to their earning capacity, the average daily wage for the different classes was shown to range from \$3.55 for the first class to \$1.79 for the tenth class. Some of the miners earned over \$1,000 annually, in one case as much as \$1,400. For the great majority of the miners, however, from \$400 to \$600 a year was the amount earned. Figures from the investigation show the average daily earnings of all the contract miners at eighteen representative collieries for the year 1889 to have ranged from \$2.64 for the first class to \$1.28 for the tenth class.¹

The accompanying table of wages of mine employees in the Lehigh district was prepared for the writer by Benjamin James, member from Pennsylvania of the National Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America, and

¹ These inquiries took no account of the earnings of those who were sick and did not or could not work regularly; nor of the earnings of those who died, or went away before the close of the year; nor of those who were employed to fill their places. These averages, therefore, are higher than the actual average wages for each class.

Wages of Mine Employees in the Lehigh District.

	Number employed.	Per cent of total number.	Wages paid per day of ten hours.	Average daily wage.	Number of days worked in 1899.	Average total earnings.
Miners	3,634	21.51	. . .	. . .	191.5	. . .
Miners' laborers	1,890	11.28+	\$1 15 to \$1 75	\$1 35	191.5	\$258 52½
Drivers and runners	785	4.64—	1 17 to 1 67	1 40	191.5	268 10
Door boys and }	252	1.49+	{ 55 to 84	70	191.5	134 05
Drivers' helpers			{ 70 to 1 00	85		
Other inside day men	2,254	13.38+	1 06 to 2 06	1 60	191.5	306 40
Engineers and	765	4.54+	{ 1 35 to 1 80	1 49	191.5	285 34
Firemen			{ 1 35 to 1 60			
Carpenters and blacksmiths	387	2.30+	1 60 to 2 00	1 75	191.5	335 12½
Slate pickers	2,734	16.23	{ 40 to 75	50	191.5	{ 95 75 162 77½
Boys			{ 75 to 90	85		
Men	3,721	22.09	1 06 to 1 25	1 17	191.5	224 05
Other outside day men						

gives the miners' side of the question. It was made up from the wages paid by the operators in the Middle field, which may be taken to be about the same as those paid in the other districts.

Eighty per cent of the miners in this district work on contract and 20 per cent by the day. Engineers and firemen receive on the average \$40.50 per month. As a rule the miner cuts six loads of coal for \$6.00 (\$1.00 a car being a fair average). Out of this he pays for powder, oil and repair of tools and the wages of his help. Where the laborer's pay is fixed at so much per day, as is generally the case, the miner must pay him \$2.00 in the Northern and \$1.75 in the Middle and Southern districts. After all these expenses are deducted the miner's net earnings are about \$2.30.¹

The striking miners did not claim that a general reduction in their wages had been made in recent years, but they argued that there had been a decrease in their earnings due to their being compelled to load larger cars without more pay, to put more "topping" on the old cars, to increase the yardage and the number of pounds required for a ton under old rates and to submit to more and more dockage of that which they did mine. They were compelled to mine more coal under greater difficulties at the same price. They claimed also that exorbitant charges for mine supplies, such as powder, oil, cotton, fuses, etc., and in some cases increased charges at the company store, went to lessen their earnings. In this way and by an increase in the prices of necessities their real wages were reduced to such an extent, they stated, that they were no longer able to support themselves and

¹ Taking \$30.00 as a fair average of the monthly earnings of the anthracite miner, the cost of living for a family of five, as given to the writer by an intelligent miner whose reputation for truthfulness can be vouched for, is as follows: Rent, \$4.00; shoes, \$1.00; clothing, \$5.00; household goods, \$2.00; doctor and medicine, \$1.50; church or priest, 50 cents; coal, \$1.50; insurance, 50 cents; total, \$16.00. This leaves \$14.00 for food for five during the month—a little over three cents for each of five persons for three meals a day. The laborers average about \$30.00 a month.

their families, that they were compelled to take their children from school at a tender age, and were even forced to swear falsely to the age of their boys so that these might earn money in the breaker. They submitted the fact that the miners in other regions had their wages increased, those in the bituminous field as much as 40 per cent along with a reduction of the daily hours of labor to eight hours. After expressing the belief that the increase in the market price of coal should be shared with them in better wages, the miners demanded a fair share of the increased profits which they said had been and were being secured for the product of their labor.

To these statements some of the operators replied in the newspapers. They denied that the prices of necessities had risen or that the earnings of the mine workers had been reduced. "The facts are," they said, "that the scale of wages has not been reduced in over twenty years notwithstanding the numerous periods of business depression and repeated reductions in the soft coal mining regions, which enabled the soft coal operators to mine at such low cost as to take away a large percentage of business formerly supplied by anthracite coal. Not only has there been no reduction in wages or earnings of the men in the anthracite region but advances have been made in a great many mines to meet changing conditions, and it is a fact that this year anthracite labor has been more fully paid, getting more days' work and consequently larger earnings than has been possible in many years.

"The statement of the mine workers that the market prices of coal are higher than in years is not true. The average prices are not higher now than in recent years and are much below the prices received in 1892. The profits of the business have decreased largely,¹ due to the increased

¹A comparison of figures given by the tenth and eleventh census seems to substantiate this claim, in that it is shown that the cost of mining per ton has increased 31 cents (\$1.03 in 1880 to \$1.34 in 1890), while the value per ton at the mine has increased only 11 cents (from \$1.47 in 1880 to \$1.58 in 1890).

cost of mining coal from the lower depths and long distances under ground, and have also been materially decreased, due to the rise in price of materials used around the collieries. This has affected all the companies very severely. As to their demand that we increase the price of coal to the public in order to increase their wages, we cannot do this under existing conditions and retain the market for anthracite coal against bituminous coal. A strike and a suspension of mining would have a very injurious effect on the anthracite trade, losing trade to bituminous coal that could never be recovered."

The other demands of the miners may be divided into two classes, those to prevent indirect reductions in wages and those to prevent a lessening of earnings after wages are paid. They demand that no miner shall have at any time more than one breast, gangway or working place or get more than his proportional share of cars or work; the abolishment of the system of having 3,360 pounds to the ton; the employment of a checkweighman, to be paid by the miners, who shall be allowed to represent them on the head of each breaker to see that the weight is correct and the dockage fair, and a reduction in the price of powder. All these are to prevent indirect reductions in wages after the nominal rate has been determined. Their demands that the operators comply with the state law in regard to semi-monthly cash-pay and that the company store and compulsory payment of the company doctor be abolished are aimed at the devices which now prevent the miner from enjoying his full earnings even after his wages are paid.

Under the conditions of employment drawn up by the Hazleton convention the miners demand the ton or weighing system for all three districts, and they want the ton to be of 2,240 pounds, as provided for by the laws of the state. In their scale of wages they want the pay for mining fixed at from $71\frac{1}{2}$ to $86\frac{1}{2}$ cents per long ton. Under the weighing system in use before the strike the price paid was from 65 to

71½ cents per ton of from 2,750 to 3,360 pounds. The operators insisted that where the miner was paid by weight the price must be fixed on the basis of paying so much for a quantity sufficient to produce a ton of prepared coal. This, he claimed, took as much as 3,200 pounds, and in some cases even more. There would have been some justice in this claim but for the fact that the impurities loaded in a ton by the miner were allowed for by the dockage system in vogue at all the mines by which the miner was docked oftentimes ten, fifteen or twenty hundred pounds in one day for refuse. This was in addition to being compelled to load the heavy ton. The refuse the miner must necessarily load in a ton of coal was thus counted against him twice. The same was true where the rate of mining was fixed at 43¾ cents to 49½ cents for 48 cubic feet. Forty cubic feet usually make a ton and the extra eight feet were to be counted as refuse, making docking unnecessary. Nevertheless the miner was subjected to the dockage system here also, and from 3 to 25 per cent of his coal was taken from him in this way along with the extra eight feet. There were also cases where the miners, instead of furnishing a well-rounded heap on the car at the breaker, as was originally agreed, were compelled little by little to increase the amount of coal in each car by building the same perpendicularly from six to eighteen inches above the edge.

The system of dockage, it will readily be seen, has much to do with determining the wages of the miners. Usually the docking boss is an English-speaking miner. He has absolute authority to determine how much refuse and how much clean coal is in a car. In most cases he is stationed at the top of the breaker, and when the car-load is brought to the top to be dumped he marks the amount with which the miner is to be credited. That such a person holding such a position will be without prejudice or feeling toward the miners is expecting too much of human nature. Usually the boss is disliked by the miners. He is regarded in nearly

every case as a too zealous employee of the company, and is set down by a majority of the people who know his personality, as a hard-hearted, driving master. The miner may work hard all day to find, when he comes out of the mine on the changing of shifts, that he has been docked half and sometimes two-thirds of the coal mined. In one case the writer knows of seventeen cars which were condemned in rapid succession as they came out of the mine. In another case a miner was docked half a car when he had loaded no cars at all. In a third case, out of 116 cars mined by a miner as a month's work, forty were docked for refuse. Of course these may be, and no doubt are, extreme cases, but none the less they furnish ground for the miners' demand that they shall have a representative, paid by themselves, to see that they get credit for the coal they mine.

Another indirect method of reducing wages was by the sale of powder to the miners. Of all the grievances complained of probably none drew to the strikers the sympathy of the public as much as did this overcharge for powder. In discussing this much vexed question one must bear in mind that powder is simply one of the tools of the miner. It is a tool somewhat different from the others he uses, however, in that its first use destroys it entirely. This use must therefore repay its cost if loss is to be avoided.

It has been estimated that on the average a miner can get out thirteen cars of coal with one keg of powder. In all but the Schuylkill district this powder cost \$2.75 a keg. In mining one car of coal this one tool cost the miner a little over twenty-one cents, about one-fifth the gross price he received for his product. For the year ending December 31, 1899, a total of 1,372,691 kegs of powder were used in the anthracite region by the miners. This powder cost the companies only from 90 cents to \$1.00 a keg. The custom of selling powder to miners at an unvarying price was adopted during the Civil War. At that time the price of powder rose and fell almost daily and the operators and miners

finally agreed that for their purpose the price should be fixed at \$3.00 a keg. If the cost went above that price the operator was to bear the loss; if it fell below the miner was to be the loser. For a time the companies actually sold powder to the miners at a loss. When the price of powder was fixed at \$3.00, it was used as the basis for arriving at the wage rate paid for mining. Since the war, though the cost of powder to the companies has decreased so materially, the miners in the northern and middle fields have been able to reduce its cost to them by only 25 cents a keg. This reduction was made without changing the wage rate, and was therefore equivalent to an increase in wages. In the Schuylkill district the employees of the Reading Company had the price of powder reduced to \$1.50 per keg, but along with this reduction a change was made in the basis rate for mining. Notwithstanding the difference in the price paid for powder, therefore, the miners in the upper and middle districts received no less wages than the miners in the Southern field. The high price had, nevertheless, been a source of continual annoyance to the men, who were compelled to pay it and who did not understand why they should pay \$2.75 for what the companies bought for \$1.00.¹

The conditions which brought about indirect reductions in the wages of the miner were sufficiently deplorable, but even more discouraging were the devices by which his earnings were lessened after his wages had been determined. The hard-coal miner of Pennsylvania, living usually in a small mining town, is under a system of complete if not absolute paternalism. He lives in a house built and owned by the company, he buys his food and clothing at the com-

¹ The operators did not attempt to deny that the price of powder to the miners was much above its cost to them, but they claimed that the rate of wages of the miners was not less than it was agreed it should be when the price of powder was fixed. Any reduction in the price of powder, they argued, without an equivalent change in the basis determining the rate of wages, was nothing less than an increase in the wages of the miners. The operator said the decrease to them in the cost of powder was no more than compensation for the increase in the cost of mining which they had to meet.

pany store, when sick he is attended by the company doctor, and if he is a Catholic his church dues are paid by the company. In fact, all those duties, the performance of which cultivates independence, ambition and the other qualities essential to individual and social development, are taken from the shoulders of the miner and performed by the company. It is not difficult to find mine workers in the hard-coal region who never see or handle one penny of their wages the year through. All their debts are contracted with and paid by the company employing them. An illustration of this dependence is furnished by the form of agreement which existed before the strike between one of the companies and its employees. It read as follows :

—, Pa., , 188 .

I, the undersigned,, an employee of — Company, miners and shippers of coal at —, Pa., do hereby acknowledge that I have this day had and received from the said — Company, the sum of \$. . . , in full payment of all sums of money due me from said firm as wages, or otherwise, for the month of . . . , 188 , and in settlement of all sums due me prior to and including said months, hereby ratifying and assenting to all deductions of any and every kind that the said — Company have at any time heretofore made from the amounts due me as wages, salary or on any other account while in their employ. I acknowledge that the following is a correct statement and settlement of the balance due me; to wit:

Wages for the month of , 188 , \$. . .

DEDUCTIONS.

Merchandise account . \$. . .	Powder account . . . \$. . .
Butcher's account	Blacksmithing
Rent account	Mine supplies
Church dues, etc.	
Physician's bill	
Board bill	
Teaming account	
Coal account	
Balance due me	\$. . .

In consideration of the premises, I do hereby consent that the said several sums shall be deducted from the amount due me as above

stated, and paid to the several parties entitled thereto; and to this end I do hereby release, assign, transfer and set over unto —— Company, and the several parties entitled thereto, such an amount of the wages due me as may be required to pay said bills and accounts as shown by the foregoing statement.

AND WHEREAS, It may occur that I am now and shall hereafter become indebted to the same or other parties on similar accounts, while I remain in the employ of the said —— Company, I do hereby authorize and direct the said —— Company to pay such accounts and bills for me and deduct the amounts so paid from all wages, salary and sums of money now due or hereafter to become due to me, and to that end I do hereby release, assign, transfer and set over unto the said —— Company, and to the several persons to whom such amounts may become due, so much of the wages or salary now due or that may at any time hereafter become due from the said —— Company as will suffice to pay said accounts.

Witness my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

In the presence of [L.S.]

. [L.S.]

It is easy from long distance, theoretical standpoints to denounce the company store and company doctor systems, but the fairest way is to look at them in the light of the conditions from which they have sprung. When a mine was first opened the land for miles around, with the possible exception of the public roads which had been opened for general use, belonged to the company. On this land, after the mine had been located, the company laid out a village, with a view to good drainage and good water supply, opened the street or streets, erected houses for mine employees, placed the school and perhaps a public hall, assigned land for the church or churches, and performed similar functions usually allotted to the inhabitants of towns and villages in the exercise of their civic responsibilities. The company or general store would be located near the main office of the company. In nearly every case it was the only store to which the miner could go to purchase necessities for himself and his family.

The community which grew up was isolated from other towns and formed a small world unto itself. Early in the life of this village occasion arose for the services of a physician. The town being small there was not a sufficient demand to induce a doctor to locate among the people. The company had to meet the emergency, and it did so by making the entire community support the physician by taxing single men fifty cents and married men \$1.00 a month. This was necessary for the good of the community, though it may have worked to the inconvenience of a few.

In the course of time we find population increasing in the coal region. Towns spring up nearer the old ones, lines of communication are opened and means of transportation are brought in, and the mining village, heretofore isolated, begins to be brought into contact with other and larger towns. Business concerns in the cities are ready and willing to send wagons of goods each day to this village. It may be that lower prices are placed on the goods to secure the trade of the inhabitants. Soon the miners begin to pay attention to the prices charged them by the company store, and if there is a difference in favor of the city concern, as is often the case, they naturally want to deal where they can get the goods the cheapest. In the meantime the company store has become a source of profit to the company which it does not care to lose. The big store in the large city is able, with its thousands of purchasers, to undersell the small company store which in most cases depends upon a population of a few hundred. Compulsion and exorbitant rates begin to be the complaint of the miners.

So it is in the case of the company doctor. There are many physicians in this large city who are willing to visit the miner and his family in the small mining town whenever their services are needed. The miner would have to pay this physician only when there was sickness in his family. Believing that he would be saving money, he wants to bring about such an arrangement. He raises a cry against the

company taking money from his wages for this purpose and dictating what physician he must employ.

While conditions have thus been changing the relation of the miners to the company in the small villages, the system of regulating those relations has remained the same. Neither the operators nor the miners have realized sufficiently that with changing relations there must be new methods of dealing with the problems of communal life if the best interests of both are to be preserved. The company store and the company doctor were for the good of all under old conditions; they are to the injury of both when compulsion becomes necessary to their continuance, as it now undoubtedly is in nearly every mining town. The companies in all the large cities where miners live have, without an exception of note, abolished these systems. The company store and the company doctor no doubt in many cases prove a source of profit to the company. The operators certainly would not long continue them at a loss. Nearly every one of these stores in the anthracite region at the present time is conducted by individual operators. None of the large companies, such as the Delaware and Hudson, Coxe Brothers & Company, the Lehigh & Wilkesbarre, the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Company, the Lehigh Valley, and the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, now conduct company stores nor collect for any stores whatever. They pay their employees in cash between the first and the twentieth of the month for the preceding month. Nor do all the operators have a company doctor. Where these systems are still in use the miners have moved for their abolition. And along with this change they ask for semi-monthly pay as another aid to rendering them independent.

All the demands of the United Mine Workers of America were not granted by the operators. The striking miners went back to work after notices had been posted at all the important collieries promising the employees an increase of 10

per cent in their wages. In the Wyoming and Lackawanna and the Lehigh districts this 10 per cent increase was to include a reduction in the price of powder from \$2.75 to \$1.50 a keg. In the Lehigh and Schuylkill districts the sliding scale was abolished. The operators, in their posted notices, stated that they would take up with their men any further grievances they might have.

Throughout the struggle the miners retained to an unusual degree the sympathy of the public. This was no doubt due to the confidence the public reposed in the leaders of the strike and the control these leaders exerted over the strikers. There were only two cases of bloodshed during the whole forty-two days of tension, one at Shenandoah, where a spectator, a foreigner, was shot and killed, and the other at Oneida, where a special guard of Coxe Brothers & Company was shot and killed. Both the shootings took place in Schuylkill county. Nevertheless there was much more rioting than the public was led to believe. Hardly a day passed that disturbances did not occur over large areas. It so happened, however, that these did not result in bloodshed, and they did not therefore receive from the newspaper correspondents the attention that was given to the Shenandoah and Oneida shootings.

The operators tried in more ways than one to break the strength of the United Mine Workers during the progress of the strike. When the conflict was inaugurated by the Union the agreement between G. B. Markle & Company and its employees, the company being one of the "independent" operators controlling four collieries in the Lehigh district, was brought up to show the public that the strikers were not sincere in their demands. In this agreement the employees had promised to submit any difficulties they might have with their employers to arbitration, "by our choosing a competent man and their choosing one, and if these two men cannot agree, these two must choose the third, and their decision, or the decision of a majority of them, to be binding."

The men had also promised under the agreement that under no consideration would they enter into a strike, and that they would not be governed by any labor association in settling any difficulties while in the employment of G. B. Markle & Company. Violation of this agreement seemed to lay the miners open to the charge of a breach of faith. It was largely owing to the lucid explanation of President Mitchell that the public was brought to see that the grievances complained of could not be settled by concessions made by a single operator, and that the only course for the men was to stand together as a unit till the railroad coal operating companies should unite in a settlement.

Another way in which the operators attempted to break the strength of the strikers was through the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company. This company employs about 27,000 men and is by far the most influential company operating in the Schuylkill field. A great majority of its men went out on strike out of sympathy for the miners in the other districts, having themselves no particular grievances. To induce these men to return to work this company posted notices offering them an advance of 10 per cent in their wages. Fear was expressed, even by some of the Union leaders, that many of these employees, of whom a large proportion were of foreign birth, would accept the offer and thus lessen the United Mine Workers' chances of success. But the strike leaders were able to keep these men from returning to work.

The success of the United Mine Workers of America in this strike will result to the advantage of both operators and miners. If there is any one thing certain as to the future of the anthracite coal industry it is that the cost of mining must be reduced more and more. Heretofore the easiest way to reduce this cost has been to reduce the wages of the mine employees, either directly or indirectly. Now that the miners are strongly organized they can successfully resist efforts at reduction along this line. The operators will

be compelled therefore to turn their energies to reducing the cost of mining, where it should be reduced, by improving the management and superintendence of their properties, partly through a closer consolidation of their interests, but even more through invention, the introduction of improved machinery, the employment of skilled labor and the better direction of labor. The strike has thus, it is believed, put a stop to a development in the anthracite region which was of permanent benefit to none and started development along lines full of promise for the future.

FRANK JULIAN WARNE.

Philadelphia.

THE ELECTION OF 1900.

In 1896, Mr. McKinley was elected President of the United States, receiving 61 per cent of the electoral and 51 per cent of the popular votes. In 1900 he received 65 per cent of the electoral and 52 per cent of the popular votes. He thus joins the group of seven Presidents who have been honored with two consecutive terms, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Lincoln and Grant. He enjoys the further distinction of being the only majority President since Grant, all of the others, as well as the two Adamses, Polk, Taylor, Buchanan and Lincoln (in 1860), having received a minority of the popular votes cast. With only one other President, Jackson, McKinley shares the honor of having been returned in the face of a serious challenge of his economic policy. Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe antedated the national convention and the party discipline which has grown up with it; they belonged to a period when the man, not the party, filled the nation's highest office. Moreover, the three Democrats profited by a public sentiment favorable to a second term. Neither Grant nor Lincoln was re-elected on economic issues nor by a free vote of the entire nation. Thus only two Presidents in 112 years have been able to find justification in the popular vote for the belief that the sovereign people, after deliberate thought, had emphatically and unqualifiedly endorsed their administrations.

The result of the election seems to have impressed the public both at home and abroad, not so much because of its meaning, as because of its magnitude. The Democratic party received only thirteen electoral votes outside of the Solid South—and these from states whose fidelity to silver was purely mercenary. Even the sub-arid West, the progenitor of Populism, repudiated its offspring, and gave its entire

electoral vote to McKinley. The plurality in the popular votes was enormous and unprecedented in history. The press, domestic and foreign, has dwelt at length upon the ominous number, 886,000, and calls the defeat a Waterloo, or a landslide. When editorial writers turn from magnitude to meaning, they find their vision and their judgment unable to examine the result in other than superlative terms. They see "65 per cent of the electoral vote," or "a popular plurality of 886,000," and render the verdict, "this magnificent victory sounds the death knell of Bryanism, Demagogism, Populism and Repudiation."¹

We have lived through this "campaign of education" and have attempted to follow carefully every move. Yet so bewildering is the panorama presented, that it already seems to us like a tale from the "Arabian Nights," or an evening spent with the magician Kellar. With our eyes constantly riveted on the object and the performer, we failed to detect the time when the bird cage was substituted for the bonnet, or the hand which drew many-colored ribbons, eggs and candies from the empty bottle. We agreed before election day that there was a paramount issue. With our eyes and hearts fixed on Prosperity and with our ballots marked Prosperity, we voted for the Prosperity candidate. When our ballot is withdrawn we discover that on it is written, not alone Prosperity, but "the unqualified endorsement of Republicanism as expressed in the policies and achievements of the administration." Underneath Prosperity we are said to have written Ship Subsidy Bill, Permanent Increase in the Army, the Porto Rican Tariff, the Philippine Policy,

¹It has not been thought desirable to give references for the numerous quotations which follow. They have been taken from some 600 editorials which appeared immediately after election, and represent every section of the country. This study was outlined and prepared with the assistance of the Senior Arts Class in Practical Politics in the University of Pennsylvania. From October 1 to November 8 two partisan dailies were studied by each member. The results are to be found in the University Library in the form of a card classification of clippings, together with a classified album of some 1,500 cartoons, collected by the classes in Practical Politics.

the Dingley Tariff, the Gold Standard, and Government by Injunction.

In the following study of the election seven different aspects of the struggle and its result are considered:

1. The electoral and popular votes returned are presented and analyzed.¹
2. The interpretation given to the Republican victory by the Republican press is reviewed.
3. Certain misconceptions in regard to the origin and present force of Bryanism and Populism are brought to light.
4. Post-election explanations are contrasted with pre-election claims.
5. Proof is submitted that prosperity, and not expansion, was the issue on which the election turned.
6. The party organizations which carried on the campaign are contrasted, and,
7. Conclusions in regard to the workings of popular government are deduced.

McKinley's election is called a Republican landslide, just as Cleveland's election in 1892 was called a Democratic landslide. Since Cleveland received a minority of the total popular votes, the term landslide must be based upon a considerable margin in the electoral college. By a natural process of the mind, the electoral vote, being determined by the majority of popular votes in doubtful states, comes to be taken as the expression of the popular will. The electoral margin is given as the popular margin. Nine hundred and ninety out of every thousand people probably believe to-day that McKinley received the endorsement of an overwhelming majority of the voters of the country. As a matter of fact only 52 per cent of the voters declared for him, while only 54 per cent of the voters in the two dominant parties gave him their support. That this 2 per cent majority or 4 per cent plurality is deemed a "popular landslide" throws much light on the psychology of an election.

¹ Based upon statement of Philadelphia *Press*, November 30.

Again, by a similar confusion of thought, the "landslide" notion is applied to all sections of the country. It is forgotten that in the four Middle Atlantic States the McKinley vote decreased 8,000, while the Bryan vote increased 151,000. It is forgotten, moreover, that in those doubtful states where campaign funds are always most liberally expended, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and West Virginia, the winning party's net loss since 1896 was 207,000. These states, whose economic wishes may dominate national legislation, cast 131 electoral votes. The states which show an increase for McKinley cast altogether 174 votes, while the states won over this year, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, South Dakota, Utah, and Washington, cast only 31. Significant is it that of the total gain of 246,000 votes, over 119,000 were found in the above states which cast only 31 electoral votes, while 115,000 more were found in the four silver states which voted for Bryan. The two Pacific states, Oregon and California, with their 13 electoral votes added 29,000. Thus 263,000 votes were given by states whose aggregate electoral vote is only 44, against a loss of 207,000 in the eight ever-doubtful states, whose electoral vote is 131. These facts may well make the thoughtful student pause before subscribing to the view that there was in any real sense a "Republican landslide."

As to the meaning of the result there is an astonishing unanimity of opinion on the part of the Republican press, from the *Augusta Journal* to the *Tacoma News*. It is here that the magic of party politics manifests itself most clearly, as before the eyes of the bewildered public the party magician of the quill reads the story of the ballots. For the most part the editorials discuss the negations represented by the large popular majority.

Some of these opinions were as follows: Bryan is "dead and buried beyond hope of resurrection." He was a "Janus-faced trickster," a "quack nostrum doctor," a "magician," a "fake prophet," a "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde,"

a "lightning-rod man," a "safe-breaker," a "court jester," an "anarchist," an "artful dodger," a "Divvicrat" and a "brazen footman to the rapacious Tammany Tiger." He was a "blatant demagogue," a "constitutional pessimist," a "traitor," an "apostle of sedition and class hatred," an "unscrupulous expounder of emotional popocratic politics," "*un homme capable de tout*."¹ The nation has "buried him under an avalanche of votes."

Bryanism, too, is "stamped out;" "its end has come," "it stands condemned before the world with none so low as to do it reverence." "All that the Democratic party, under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, has contended for, has been repudiated." The election marks the "deliverance from the combination of all the political lunacies of the past." Not only is "free silver confined to the limbo reserved for the children of a diseased imagination," but we have left behind "the whole congeries of fads and follies and hatreds that greedy and unscrupulous men have gathered together in a modern Cave of Adullam for menace to ordered popular government." Bryanism was assisted by agencies "conceived in folly and born of desperation," and by "alliances with all the political ragtag and bobtail that could be enticed into camp by a surrender of Democratic principles." It rested on "the mire of Populism and Socialism" and "sat in the darkness of pessimism."² It drew votes from a "conglomeration of wild theorists, of discontented ignorance, of dishonest debtors, of selfish silver owners, of self-seeking politicians, of objectors to law, order and the sanctity of the supreme judiciary, following the Jack o' Lantern light of a man void of understanding."³

It matters little to the future of America whether or not the above characterizations of Mr. Bryan express the judgment of the majority of the present generation. It would be of no great consequence if future historians should hold to

¹ *Le Siecle*, November 8.

² *Scimitar*, Memphis, Tenn., November 7.

³ *Town Topics*, New York, November 15.

contrary opinions and go so far as to characterize him, in the language of his followers, as a "patriot," a "second Lincoln," "an able, earnest, conscientious champion of the people," and even as "the greatest American commoner of his generation." He is but one man living in remote Nebraska. A mistake in diagnosing his case will endanger no class, no industry and no principle. The proper and scientific diagnosis of *Bryanism* is, however, of the utmost importance. That disease is not limited to one state nor section. Its ravages were so extensive as to affect 6,415,387 voters, two millions of whom are still at large in the eight doubtful states above mentioned. Even in the five states which gave Mr. McKinley landslides, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio and Wisconsin, *Bryanism* polled 1,300,000 votes, while in Ohio itself 475,000 confessed contagion. Did the final result rob this contagion of its baneful power? The post-election physicians answer with an emphatic affirmative.

Their diagnosis does not, however, convince nor reassure the student of American politics. It seems to be based upon an exaggerated estimate of electoral margins. There are several evidences that it was pronounced without an understanding of the true nature of *Bryanism*, its historic antecedents and causes, or its present potential force. There is the same proof that *Bryanism* is buried forever, as of the extinction of Populism. If Populism is a disease of the imagination, it was never so virulent as to-day, when there is less reason for its separate existence. The dreams of to-day become the realities of to-morrow. Populism has inoculated both the Democratic and Republican parties. The latter advocates government ownership and control of an Isthmian Canal; national reservoirs to reclaim 70,000,000 arid acres for free homes; the restriction of immigration; raising the age limit for child-labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.¹ Republicans in state and local politics are con-

¹ Platform, 1900.

stantly encroaching upon the domain of private enterprise, until recently held sacred. The most advanced primary legislation on our statute books was passed by a Republican legislature and a Democratic governor.¹ Likewise the Democratic party has shown populist tendencies. But because the party of opposition, of discontent and of the masses, it has naturally accepted more of the populist creed than the party in power, the party of capital and conservatism. Populism is very much alive in all parties of the day.

Bryanism and Populism are not dead excrescences, but living parts of a great organism, the results of living causes and they are bound to continue active until these causes are removed. They are based upon a condition of fact, not an unrelated state of mind. They result from the inequalities of distribution which no one denies. They are akin to all those historic movements and creeds of the world's democracies, which have had as their object the equalizing of opportunity and privilege, or the minimizing of monopoly advantage. They revert in direct lineage to the Cleveland-Jackson-Jeffersonian Democracy, which the papers and journals of our time are wont to eulogize. It is not creditable to American journalism that historical inaccuracies with reference to the conservatism and dignity of the Jefferson-Jackson or even the Cleveland Democracy have gone practically unchallenged.

To ascribe to Bryan the invention of "class politics" is to forget the traditions in which the Democracy glories. Jefferson, author of the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, had no more reverence for the national judiciary, the Treasury squadron, nor the "stiff-necked aristocrats" from Boston, than has Bryan, opponent of Government by Injunction, for the judiciary of his day, the present treasury administration or for the "plutocrats of Wall Street."

Monroe² urged upon Congress to prevent the monopoly

¹ Minnesota, 1900. See *ANNALS*, November, 1900, p. 145.

² Messages, II, 17.

of public lands by the capitalist class. Jackson was considered by the conservatives of his time a most violent demagogue, and, with Jefferson, gloried in the charge that he was attempting to array the masses against the classes. Cleveland, Mugwump as he was, the arch Democrat of the old school according to the current press, proclaimed himself the lineal descendant from those great fathers who battled for the masses against special privilege. He went further and declared that under the rule of the protected classes, there "is not equality before the law."¹

When Democracy becomes conservative it will have outlived its usefulness and have repudiated its name. That it cannot endure as a conservative party, our history gives ample proof. It is this failure to accept the dictum of experience, which makes possible the extravagant verdict that radicalism in politics is forever abolished. It is not Democracy that has changed but Conservatism. The dreams of Jefferson's time have become the conventions of McKinley's generation.

If the causes which generated Bryanism and Populism and Prohibition and Socialism and Anti-Imperialism were not removed by the landslide of last November, then 48 per cent of the voters are still fundamentally and openly opposed to what has gone by the name of McKinleyism. Wise statesmanship will consider this numerically large opposition in determining legislative and administrative policies. The manifest duty of the party in power is, first, to hold what support it now has, and, secondly, to minimize the opposition. Neither can be done by branding opponents as Demagogues, Populists, Bryanites or Antis. For when opponents become numerous enough, opposition becomes respectable.

The interpretation put upon the positive wishes of the 52 per cent majority does not seem to be less extravagant than the view taken of the future of the 48 per cent

¹ Messages, VIII, 775.

minority. Mr. McKinley himself warned his party that the desire to avert evil may be quite as powerful a motive as that to obtain good. The party press, as well as the foreign conservative press, have found in the "avalanche of votes under which Bryanism was buried" both desires working with superlative force. The victory is characterized as a splendid triumph "for the McKinley administration and everything it stood for." Which being interpreted means "a triumph for gold;" "a victory for an unpartisan judiciary;" "universal support of the doctrine of protection." "We do not wish to be a hermit nation;" we have "upheld the foreign policy in a way that cannot be misunderstood;" we have declared "in favor of the expansion of the American nation to include territory other than that on the North American continent;" we "recognize the manifest destiny of this nation to be one of the greatest of modern world powers, and assert that that which is called Imperialism is but the indication of a healthy growth, properly termed expansion." These general explanatory phrases have since been translated into headings for legislative bills and upon them is based the conclusion: The American people demanded on November 6, by the largest vote ever given any executive, a ship subsidy bill; a permanent increase of the army; a continuance of the gold standard; the Dingley tariff, and the Republican trust policy; the continued interference of the judiciary in strike difficulties, and protective barriers between the United States and her colonial dependencies. "The people have decided, after deliberation, that it is not desirable that the Constitution follow the flag." These claims are certainly not based upon an analysis of the factors which co-operated in Mr. McKinley's re-election.

Prosperity (= a), protection (= b), the gold standard (= c), the party's trust policy (= d), and the colonial policy (= e), combined to attract 52 per cent of the votes. The first factor may, for reasons beyond the control of the

Republican party, hide its alluring face before the next election. Then it will be important to have a majority who love the party's principles, and trust its methods in adversity as in prosperity. The problem may be presented in a mathematical form: $a + b + c + d + e = 52$ per cent of the votes, *i. e.*, $a + b + c + d + e > a' + b' + c' + d' + e'$. It does not follow that $b > b'$, $c > c'$, $d > d'$ or $e > e'$. Nor does it follow even that $b + c + d + e > b' + c' + d' + e'$. It may be that $b + c + d + e < b' + c' + d' + e'$. In this case the elimination of a as a factor would leave the Republican party with a minority. Neither the party press nor the outline of proposed Congressional legislation gives evidence that the algebraic problem has been studied and solved by those most vitally interested. Instead, the party mathematicians argue, $a + b + c + d + e > a' + b' + c' + d' + e'$. $\therefore a > a'$, $b > b'$, $c > c'$, $d > d'$ and $e > e'$. *Q. E. D.*

The President has not only asserted that a logical and scientific analysis of the returns is indispensable to the proper execution of the popular will, but he has himself publicly presented such an analysis.¹ In the following order he has named the factors which co-operated to give him a 2 per cent majority of the popular vote: (1) "Our splendid party." (2) "The Gold Democrats." (3) "The Silver Republicans." (4) "The almost unbroken column of mechanics and agricultural laborers." (5) "The home influence." (6) "The business interests." If the co-operation of all these factors was necessary to its success, then the party in power may not, without jeopardizing its future prospects, do anything which any one of these factors disapproves, unless by so doing compensating accessions are obtained from the opposition.

The votes of the party organization were cast for whatever happened to go by the name of Republicanism. Under adverse circumstances in 1892, 43 per cent of the voters

¹ November 24, 1900, before the Union League, Philadelphia.

were steadfast in support of Republicanism; in 1888 and 1884 the party polled 47.7 and 48.5, of the votes. The party in 1900, therefore, probably received from 3.5 to 9 per cent of the total vote cast from the five independent factors enumerated by the President. On what issues did the regular traditional party organization receive the votes of these outsiders? To an onlooker this does not seem to be a very difficult question to answer. The negations of certain of the factors are so well known that we can readily determine several issues on which these factors did *not unite* with the Republican party. For instance, "the Gold Democrats" did not approve the Dingley Tariff, the ship subsidy bill, the Porto Rican tariff, nor the theory that the constitution is not coextensive with executive authority. "The Silver Republicans" distrusted monometallism. The mechanics and laborers did not form "an unbroken column" in support of Government by Injunction, the administration trust policy, nor the colonization of the Philippines. "The Home," to a great extent, disapproved the army canteen, the trust policy and the Porto Rican tariff. "Business Interests" did not universally endorse the Republican trust policy. To not one single positive proposition of the dominant party did these five contributaries give unqualified endorsement. To nearly every such proposition some one of these factors stands irrevocably and traditionally opposed. Yet they all united in support of McKinley. By a process of elimination, as well as by reference to pre-election pledges, it appears evident that these factors voted for a set of conditions, not a set of theories. They voted for *Prosperity* and against change.

At the opening of the campaign Prosperity was a universally recognized condition, not an issue. The people had taken the Republican party at its word and believed that the promise had been fulfilled to make gold the standard of value.¹ They knew, furthermore, that the silver

¹ Platform, 1900.

plank at Kansas City was a concession to consistency, a ruse to forestall carping criticism of the inevitable candidate. The protective tariff was not an issue, having received at Kansas City only three lines. In the minds neither of laymen, business men nor laborers did Prosperity seem to be in jeopardy because of a prospective attempt to debate our future relations to the Philippines.

The people were undoubtedly prepared to make Expansion the paramount issue, for they were still imbued with the notion that momentous national decisions are made only after honest debate and deliberate judgment.

The Philadelphia convention did not dispel the expectation that Expansion would be the paramount issue. The administration press could not withhold expressions of dissatisfaction that the platform was cut and dried, and made such meagre mention of the all-important questions forced upon us by the Spanish War. The hoisting of the flag of the Gold Standard and Prosperity was understood to be pure stratagem and an attempt to force the opposition to a defensive campaign.

At the time the Kansas City convention met, the following discontented elements were ready to vote and work against McKinley's endorsement: the Populist-Democratic party, which polled 6,300,000 votes in 1896; the Populist party, which polled 246,000 votes in 1896; the Prohibitionists, who polled 145,000 in 1896 and 262,000 in 1892; the two Socialist parties, who had cast 100,000 votes in the gubernatorial contests of 1898 and 1899; the Gold Democrats, who in 1896 had cast 134,000 independent votes. In addition there was within as well as without the party vigorous and bitter opposition to the canteen, to the civil service record of McKinley, to the *laissez faire* trust policy, and to the so-called capitalistic tendencies of the party, and finally a very general opposition to the Porto Rican tariff and the Philippine policy. Against the administration were arrayed on some one of these counts such men as Boutwell, Harrison, Cleveland, Reed, Harmon,

Wellington, Godkin, Schurz, Hoar, Hale, Heatwole, and Presidents Eliot, Hadley, Rogers, etc., and such influential organs as the *Chicago Times-Herald*, the *Boston Herald*, the *Philadelphia Ledger* and the *Springfield Republican*.

The Kansas City convention named as paramount the one issue on which all of these opposition elements were united. Bryan's Indianapolis speech appeared to cement the union. Briefly he called attention to those inconsistencies and mistakes of the Republican party which the opposition elements in turn condemned. He appealed to the consciences of Americans and pleaded for a people which was fighting now, as we in 1776 fought, for independence. He invoked the noble traditions of our nation; he appealed to our sense of fairness; he quoted from the fathers of the Republican party the declaration which awakes a sympathetic response—"Self-government is the natural government of man." He held up to view as our destiny "a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident truth . . . that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." His speech was accepted with enthusiasm as designating in masterly manner the paramount issue of the campaign.

But the supremacy of "Expansion" was brief. "Prosperity" soon took its place. The procedure by which the substitution was made is most instructive. First, the fact of Prosperity was demonstrated and elaborated; secondly, the fact of apathy as to the fate of Prosperity was shown; thirdly, the danger to Prosperity was shouted; fourthly, the paramountcy of Prosperity was proved; and finally the dependence of Prosperity upon the return of McKinley was established.

The first step was easy. So general was Prosperity and so strikingly obvious, that the administration propaganda from convention to election day, in the platform, on the stump, and through the pamphlet and official statistical publications was successfully carried on in the language of superla-

tives. Trade, imports, exports, balances, money supply, manufactures, population, safety deposits, insurance, mortgages discharged, capital ready to invest, coal and iron production, prices and wages—everything was the *biggest* it had ever been.

Nor was it difficult to prove that there was universal apathy. The Republican party could tell from the campaign contributions; it could prove it further by a long list of statesmen, scholars, business men and labor leaders who were hesitating whether to give the party a half-hearted support or whole-hearted opposition. This apathy was not as to the fate of the Philippines, the Porto Rican tariff, the theory that the constitution follows the flag or the future of American ideals. It was apathy as to the fate of Prosperity. The Republican press proved what everybody knew that in July the people were not afraid that Prosperity was jeopardized by the paramountcy of Expansion.

The fact that Prosperity was in imminent danger was next established. It was pointed out between June and September¹ that the commission to the Republican party to make "every American dollar a gold dollar or its equivalent" had been only partially executed. A Democratic executive could undo the work of the administration. Bryan would certainly take advantage of the omission or oversight or failure of the Gold Standard act of March, 1900. Whereas the menace in 1896 was only to a prospective prosperity, the menace in 1900 was to a universally existent prosperity.

So vividly was the danger presented that the Republican National Committee alone was able to collect over \$5,000,000 to teach the public that the election of Bryan would shatter Prosperity. So earnestly was this taught that many large

¹ Secretary Gage, July 12: "I am satisfied that the new law establishes the gold standard beyond assault, unless it is deliberately violated." Compare with statements of August 25, and the succeeding debate with Mr. Schurz.—Daily papers, September 13.

² Platform.

manufacturing establishments gave notice to their employees that operations would be suspended the morning after Bryan's election. Contracts were made conditional upon the rejection of the candidate of the "forces of chaotic evil"¹ at the polls. So universal was the opposition that Democratic orators and journals were compelled to assume the defensive on the paramount proposition of their opponents.

The paramouncy of Prosperity was never in question after Bryan and his party turned from the issue on which they could unite all of the opposition elements, to debate the issues on which the administration was strongest. As was to be expected, there was defection in the opposition ranks and a cementing of the various discontented elements with the party of Prosperity. It is not improbable that the Democratic party lost votes with every speech made after the Indianapolis meeting. Certain it is that Expansion or Imperialism degenerated from a paramount issue involving the future of our political ideals, to a subsidiary theme in a chorus of captious criticisms upon the party in power. At Indianapolis, Bryanism scorned to discuss the dollar. In Madison Square, Bryanism in affiliation with Crokerism, discussed the dollar as at Washington Park economic questions began and closed an hour's talk. On questions of dollars and cents Democracy should have known that people welcome economic experiments, not when on the flood tide of prosperity, but rather when business conditions invite to change.²

It was not Bryan, it was not Bryanism, nor was it any gross materialism of the American people which, at this time of momentous crisis, shifted the issue from Expansion to Prosperity. All the conditions were present so far as the people were concerned, to justify and compel a free and full

¹ Governor Roosevelt, St. Paul Speech.

² Dr. F. A. Cleveland, of the University of Pennsylvania, has worked out an interesting diagram in which is shown the remarkable coincidence since 1820 of business depressions and administration reverses, and business buoyancy and administration successes in the United States.

discussion of the desirability of an Asiatic colonial policy. This discussion was averted, perhaps for all time, perhaps only temporarily, by the operation of the machinery of party organization, which in the interest of party, took from the American people the opportunity to decide its future attitude toward colonization in general, and toward the Philippine Islands in particular.

Two organizations, two armies of rival politicians, were struggling for the privilege of naming the paramount issue. Just as in war, the probabilities of success lay with the best equipped, and best organized. In equipment and organization the Republican party was in every respect superior. Within the party there was unanimity of thought and action; all endorsed without qualification the stratagem of the leaders as expressed in the Philadelphia platform. Within the Democratic ranks there were schisms and jealousies, chronic objectors and "traitors." The stratagem of the leaders at Kansas City was at the outset discredited by the debate over the silver plank. It was an aggregation of elements differing in party traditions, and holding in common only the belief that Expansion or Imperialism must be made the paramount issue.

The Republican party represented the moneyed interests of the country. The fear of an unsettling of the currency, and of injury to large corporations from Bryan's proposed anti-trust legislation, brought out liberal contributions to its campaign fund, giving the Republican National Committee plenty of ready money for all legitimate means of advancing its cause—such as paying traveling expenses of speakers, printing and circulating campaign literature, and making preliminary polls, not to mention the passes supplied by railroad corporations for sending home to vote men living in closely contested states.

The Democratic party, on the other hand, represented the interests of the "middle and lower" classes, and was compelled to seek its campaign contributions from these poorer

constituents, and the few moneyed interests which expected to gain from a Democratic victory. The piteously meagre fund resulting was a severe handicap which the Democratic party struggled in vain to overcome. While the Republican party was well supplied with speakers of note, and was able to send out all it considered advisable, the Democratic party was unable to send out all the speakers at its command. It is estimated that toward the end of the campaign, there were 7,000 Republican speeches made each week day, while the Democratic figure never attained the meagre number of 2,500. Nor could the Democratic managers supply transportation to enable citizens to return to their legal residences to vote. There was no general exodus of Democratic voters from the colleges and universities. Instead, Democratic student voters received letters similar to the following:

"We are very hard up this year and are depending largely upon the loyalty and enthusiasm of those who believe in justice and liberty to carry this campaign. The prospects in —— for a Democratic victory never looked brighter than they do at the present time, and I believe that if every Democrat does his duty that —— will cast her electoral vote for Bryan on the sixth of November. I know it is hard to ask a man to come such a distance to vote, but we must all make some sacrifices for the principles which we love and advocate, and I hope that something will occur whereby you can see your way clear to return home and cast your vote for Bryan."¹

The avenues for the transportation of facts and arguments and sneers and jokes and prejudices and canards were likewise opened more freely to the Republican party than to the opposition. The extent of the Republican domination over the press is not generally known, nor is its influence appreciated. In states like Pennsylvania there is little opportunity for the average reader to hear more than one side of great political discussions. In Philadelphia, out of forty-two dailies and weeklies, not one declared itself in the newspaper directory of this year to be Democratic, while

¹ From a National Democratic Committeeman in answer to a request for transportation by a student at the University of Pennsylvania.

twenty-nine were at the outset avowedly Republican. Of thirteen Independent organs two dailies, with a circulation of less than 200,000, had Democratic sympathies. One opposed Bryan's election throughout, while the other supported him on part of his economic program, thus helping to make paramount the issue on which Bryan must have been beaten. Even this support diminished in enthusiasm immediately prior to election day. Nor was there equality of equipment in the pivotal states such as New York and Indiana. The relative control over the press, in these states, is indicated in the following table:

	Daily.		Weekly.		Daily and Weekly.		
	N. Y.	Indiana.	N. Y.	Indiana.	N. Y.	Indiana.	Total.
Republican . . .	57	54	241	164	298	218	516
Democratic . . .	37	48	157	144	194	192	386
Independent . . .	41	25	262	137	303	162	465
Non-partisan . . .	22	16	210	127	232	143	375

This shows that of 902 avowedly Republican and Democratic papers, over 57 per cent had been consistently preaching Republicanism prior to the campaign. At the moment the campaign opened the administration party was in control of 33 per cent more dailies and weeklies in the ten doubtful states than the Democratic organization. In addition to their advantage of a greater circulation of papers already controlled, the Republican party had greater ability to purchase such independent and non-partisan assistance as was in the market. Furthermore it was in a position to exert greater indirect influence upon papers which would not barter their support for a consideration, but which because of their constituencies, could not help leaning rather to the conservative than to the radical side on economic issues.

It is unnecessary to describe the thousand and one artifices employed by both parties to influence the popular vote. Allowing for the difference in their capabilities and resources, they were equally spectacular, illogical, petty, vain-glorious and bombastic. In debate each was at a disadvantage on

the other's ground. The Republican party was able because of its superior organization and greater resources to suggest its own subject for debate, and maintained throughout Prosperity as the paramount issue. On that issue the election was won.

The same perfectly disciplined organization which determined the paramount issue is now, through its press and its leaders in Congress, determining the paramount result. No mention has yet been made in Congress of a "currency law which shall establish the gold standard beyond assault, unless it is deliberately violated." Instead, Congress is busying itself with the Ship Subsidy, the Nicaraguan Canal, the Army and Navy Reorganization appropriations and a reduction in the war taxes. Expansion is the paramount result of the election and the paramount object of legislation. Yet, as shown above, the American people have never debated on its merits the proposition to which they have indirectly committed themselves.

This fact is more than an interesting commentary on our system of government by parties. It indicates a loose and insincere method of reasoning which repudiates the lessons of experience. It shows that a paramount issue need not guide the legislator or the executive after it has guided the voter. The full force of the danger of such reasoning is more vividly presented, if we apply the same hiatus between pre-election and post-election intentions to the supposititious case of Bryan's election. It would follow that Bryan's election would have meant the unqualified endorsement of the demands and protests contained in the Chicago and Kansas City platforms. A similar type of reasoning construes the recent British Tory landslide to have meant an unqualified endorsement of the church and land doles; an acquiescence in the Tory failure to fulfill its pledges with reference to old age pensions and other social legislation; and an overwhelming vote of confidence in the war department. Thus it would never be possible to rebuke

an administration by an adverse vote, without commissioning the opposition to undertake each and every one of the sweeping and radical reforms to whose ultimate accomplishment different elements of the opposition are pledged.

The recent election clearly reveals the real nature of popular government under parties. It does more: it dispels many hallucinations cherished by the younger generation as to the manner in which society progresses and erects landmarks. We have been wont to envy our fathers and grandfathers, who lived in the epoch-making periods of our nation's development. We have lived again their tragedies, have struggled through the conflicts of interest, and braved the torrents of popular passion, class hatred and sectional strife, which, in that ideal past, aroused them to noble thought and inspired deed. We have resented the iconoclastic scholarship which would prove that the Revolution was a struggle for dollars, the Mexican War a war for booty, and the Civil War a contest for industrial supremacy. We have believed that grave crises could have been met only by candid thought and honest acts. The recent election has, however, demonstrated that popular governments under parties may pass great crises without facing them, that questions of permanent and world-wide importance may be decided while answering some infinitely less important questions, or even while refusing to be interrogated.

The ease with which we, as a people, pass from the contemplation of majorities to generalizations in regard to forces; the exaggerated importance which we attach to the electoral margin; the difficulty we experience in adjusting post-election interpretation to pre-election purposes; the depreciation of the causes represented by the losing candidate; the glorification of the leaders and periods of former struggles of the masses against the classes; the unanimity with which the press of the victorious party denies the possibility of a majority on a paramount issue without an unqualified endorsement of subsidiary policies; the hypnotic

influence of the party star chamber which shapes platforms, names candidates, designates paramount issues, dictates jokes, distributes applause, and disseminates patent insides and spontaneity,—these are all evidences that party discipline and party organization are the supreme powers in American politics.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

University of Pennsylvania.

STATE BOARDS OF CONTROL WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE EXPERIENCE
OF WISCONSIN.

The recent development of administration in the United States affords abundant evidence of a tendency towards centralization. This centralization may be considered as a phase of the general tendency towards combination and organization in industry which has characterized the closing decades of the last century. The rapidly increasing number of state offices and boards bears witness to this movement to enlarge the sphere of our commonwealth administrations. But in addition to the extension of central authority recent legislation has strengthened the control and supervision exercised by the educational, public works, police, charitable, correctional and other departments of the state over the work of the localities in the interest of uniform and economic methods of administration. It is probable that no other phase of the administrative systems of our states has been so unsatisfactorily organized as that of our charitable and correctional institutions. In order to correct loose and irresponsible methods in this department there has been a noticeable increase in the number of central responsible boards in the states. In 1899 there were operating in thirty states charitable and correctional boards exercising varying degrees of control over the state and local institutions. In certain of these states, as Minnesota and Texas, the control of the state board extends only to a few of the state institutions; while complete centralization and concentration of power has taken place in but seven of the thirty states, viz., Kansas, Rhode Island, Arkansas, South Dakota, Wyoming, Iowa and Wisconsin.

The rise of the state boards of charity and correction has been a gradual one, beginning during the period of the Civil War. From the time of their origin, these boards have

been subjected to the passing whims of changing legislatures. Their powers and organization have been frequently altered, and often the original boards have been subdivided. An increasing population and the growth of humanitarian sentiment have resulted in a rapid increase in the number of state institutions for the care of the unfortunate and the reform of the unsocial members of the community. The growth of interest in this field of work has demanded not only more careful attention to its scientific phases, but also better business methods. Hence this movement toward centralization, which has not been confined to any one section of the country, but which has reached a more advanced stage of development in the newer and more progressive states of the West.

The boards of charity and reform, as they are now organized in the various states, may be grouped into two classes: the first have the powers of supervision, inspection and recommendation, but leave the business management of each institution to a local board of trustees; the second exercise a positive control over the state institutions and assume full responsibility for their management, and also exercise a control over the localities in certain phases of their charitable and reformatory work. Boards of the first class are usually composed of honorary officers who give but a portion of their time to the work without pay; while the members of the second class or executive boards devote their whole time to the work and receive salaries commensurate with the responsibilities which they assume. In some of the states, as in New York, the system of administration combines both the professional state board, and the honorary local board of trustees. This, however, only extends to the care of the insane.

There exists a divided opinion among those engaged in charitable and correctional work concerning the practical merits of these two systems. In passing judgment upon them a careful distinction should be observed between

sentimental and scientific charity. The dominance of the first idea in the early years of charity organization led to the prevalence of "sentimental boards," engaged in both state and local charitable work. The growth of the second idea is in response to a more enlightened humanitarian spirit, which recognizes that public and private charity demands the most careful business methods and the scientific treatment of the questions of reform which come under the jurisdiction of the authorities. There is consequently involved in the choice of a system the question as to whether the executive board is in a better position to follow out scientific principles than the board which possesses only supervisory powers. A full discussion of these questions must be in the light of experience, and not merely through the collation of opinion. It must also be borne in mind that careful business and scientific methods under ample authority have been so recent that a comparison of the executive and supervisory systems is in a sense premature.

Among the state boards of charity and reform which have combatted the tendency towards centralization, the state board of Illinois has been especially conspicuous. It has been an open advocate, through its reports, of a supervisory state board with local boards of trustees in charge of each institution. These reports may be selected to defend the merits of this system. Sentiment has favored the retention of the advisory board, on the ground that "the essential principles of thorough and effective organization are the division of labor, accountability, and the spirit of emulation." It is urged that these are secured under the advisory board by committing to the local boards the care and responsibility for the many different state institutions.

A perusal of the reports of the Illinois state board reveals many complaints which suggest the need of a larger authority for the state board, and particularly in the treatment of the insane by the county authorities. The board complains of political influences in appointments, and doubt-

less could urge with equal reason the support of thrifty lobbyists by each institution at the legislative sessions in order to procure appropriations for their respective institutions. At least this practice has been quite general in those states employing the system of local trusteeships. One of the most urgent reasons for the creation of the state board of control, in Wisconsin, was the wasteful competition for appropriations between the trustees of the various state institutions, in their efforts to secure favorable appropriations. The institutions were constantly lobbying against each other, and the most liberal appropriations were secured by those who clamored with tact and influence, even, often, in opposition to the advice of the supervisory board. It is not at all improbable that similar practices prevail in other states where the state board possesses only supervisory and visitatorial powers. Viewed as a business proposition, the careless and unsystematic methods of the local boards of trustees have led to wasteful expenditures, which have shown these boards to be deficient if not dishonest. Among the members of these local boards, it must be admitted, will be found men of earnest philanthropic purpose, as well as of thorough business training, but they are not in a position to give to the public the full value of their observation and experience, since only a portion of their time is devoted to their work. In addition, the limited business field prevents the utilization of the advantages of the market in purchasing supplies. And still further, these boards are compelled to combat the strong feeling that the trade of a particular institution exists for the business men of the locality in which it is situated. But the strongest argument which can be urged against the supervisory system is given in a forthcoming report of the Illinois state board. This report contains an admission on the part of the board of the failure of the supervisory system, and strongly recommends the substitution of a board of control. The merits of the two systems will further appear as we follow the evolution of the board of control in the State of

Wisconsin, which has passed through the different stages of development through which the boards of other states are now passing.

The history of the state charitable and correctional institutions of Wisconsin may be conveniently divided into four periods: First, from the establishment of the first institutions to the year 1871, a period when the different institutions were under the management of local boards of trustees, without any supervising state authority; second, from 1871 to 1881, during which time the boards of trustees still managed the different institutions, but did so under the general direction of a State Board of Charities and Reform, which was created with powers of an advisory nature; third, the period from 1881 to 1891, marked by the creation of the State Board of Supervision of the charitable and reformatory institutions, which divided responsibilities with the previous board, but did not destroy it; and finally, the fourth period, since 1891, characterized by the creation of a State Board of Control of reformatory, charitable and penal institutions, which supplanted the two boards of the third period, and under whose management were centralized all of the charitable and correctional institutions belonging to the state.

During the first two periods, covering about thirty years, the local boards were appointed by the governor, for a term of three to five years, the members retiring on different years and receiving no salary. The state board of charities and reform was created in 1871, to the end that the administration of public charity and correction might be "conducted upon sound principles of economy, justice and humanity," and that the relations existing between the state and its dependent and criminal classes might become better understood. The board was composed of five members, who retired on different years, and who held two annual sessions. The duties of the board were to investigate and supervise all charitable and correctional institutions supported by the state, or receiving aid from the state treasury.

The members of the board were expected to make personal visits to the different institutions in order to gather information concerning the efficiency, honesty and economy of their administration, and to recommend such changes as might be deemed essential to their improvement. The board was also directed to conduct an investigation into the conditions of the poorhouses, jails, prisons, etc., of the state.

No one would deny that this was an ambitious and comprehensive program, and that the board, like similar boards in other states, was clothed with power of far-reaching recommendation. But for a summary of the results attained, the student should read the complaints of these boards of wasteful and extravagant expenditures, political influences and other factors which tended to retard development in charitable and correctional administration.

But these were the beginnings in a Western state where crude conditions still prevailed. While the state board could severely reprimand and amply recommend, it possessed no power to compel action. It could condemn the jails and police stations on sanitary grounds, but its suggestions went unheeded from year to year. The most favorable word that can be said with reference to the success of this board is that it was merely nominal. The objections that were urged above against honorary boards, applied to the Wisconsin system of this period. The local boards neglected their opportunities and generally practiced wasteful financial methods. Insufficient time was given to the work, and often incapable management was found. The inspections of the state board usually took the form of friendly calls at superintendents' offices, or upon members of the local boards. The inherent weakness of this system appears in many cases which might be cited showing that irregular and unbusinesslike methods were widely practiced by the officers of the various institutions. Deficits for unauthorized appropriations, false classifications in the pay roll, doubling of the weight of groceries and supplies, were among the

most common practices. These irregularities were made public in the special report of 1880, and led to the creation of the State Board of Supervision with larger powers of control. The success of this legislation was impaired by the fact that the two state boards possessed conflicting powers. The obvious intention of the legislature was to substitute a more centralized authority for the loosely constituted boards created in 1871. The members of the board of supervision were expected to devote their whole time to their work, for which they received a salary of two thousand dollars and expenses. In order to carry out this arrangement a permanent office was provided and placed in charge of a secretary, who also gave to his duties his whole time and attention.

The most important change made by the act of 1881 was the abolition of the local boards of trustees and the introduction of the simple and uniform methods of administration, which were now possible. In the place of the local board a superintendent or warden was given immediate charge of an institution and was made personally responsible to the State board for its management. The control of the board over each institution was strengthened not only by the abolition of the local boards of trustees, but also by the more detailed and strict accounting required of the head of each institution and by the examination of the local accounts. While this was doubtless a step in the right direction it tended to place great power in the hands of each superintendent. He was the purchaser of all supplies and naturally fell a prey to local conditions, and practices were gradually developed which destroyed efficient and economical administration.

With this dual system of state supervision in operation, it was not long before jealousy and conflict arose over questions of jurisdiction. It was largely due to this condition of affairs that the two boards were abolished in 1891 and the State Board of Control established in their place. At the time of its creation the board consisted of six members, but by the act of 1895, this number was reduced to five. The

members are appointed by the governor of the state, one retiring each year, and receive salaries of two thousand dollars and expenses. The purpose of the act of 1891 was to follow out the centralizing tendencies of the act of 1881, which created the board of supervision and destroyed the local boards of trustees. Thus, step by step, this centralization has gone on in Wisconsin until the state has taken a most advanced position among the states of the Union as regards the administration of its charitable and correctional institutions.

The institutions coming directly or indirectly under the State Board of Control of Charitable, Reformatory, and Penal Institutions, are divided into two classes, the state institutions and the semi-state institutions. The institutions of the first class are the State Hospital for the Insane, the Northern Hospital for the Insane, the School for the Deaf, the School for the Blind, the Industrial School for Boys, the State Prison, the State Public School for Dependent Children, the Home for the Feeble Minded, and the State Reformatory. The institutions which compose the second class are the twenty-seven county insane asylums, the Milwaukee County Hospital for Insane, the Industrial School for Girls, and the Wisconsin Veterans' Home.

A statement of the general powers of the board will aid to a clearer idea of the results of its administration. In the first place, it is charged with the maintenance, government, and direct management and supervision of the various state institutions. It must preserve and care for and make annually a full and complete inventory and appraisal of the property of each institution. The members must make monthly visits to each institution, and provide all needful regulations for the officers and employees, courses of study, tuition and maintenance of pupils. In short, all administrative matters pertaining to the state institutions fall within the jurisdiction of the board.

These powers are sufficiently ample to afford the board

an opportunity to develop a policy of charity and reform on broad and liberal lines. In some regards the board is pursuing a policy which was begun under the Board of Supervision, but in other respects it is breaking new ground, particularly in the care of the insane and the direct, unified management of the affairs of the different institutions. The members of the board are in constant attendance upon their duties and consequently bring to bear upon the problem under consideration a wide fund of observation and experience. Naturally a large and complicated business, with its legal and technical phases, has developed certain forms of specialized effort, which affords an opportunity for each member of the board to employ his peculiar talents to the best advantage.

A brief examination of some of the specific problems with which the board must daily grapple will convey a more definite idea of its policy. In view of what has been said concerning political influences at work in controlling the patronage of the state institutions under the supervisory system, an account of the working of the Wisconsin plan in this regard will be valuable. It was the former practice in this state to disregard in great measure the fitness of candidates for positions, and to select political friends and relatives for responsible places. In recent years there has been a gradual elimination of political considerations in the appointments made by the board. The constant growth in the number of offices has demanded a more careful selection of persons for responsible positions. An examination of the table on page 87 shows that the institutions are managed and operated at present by 632 officers and employees, receiving monthly salaries of about \$21,062, which places an important patronage directly or indirectly at the disposal of the board. In order to fix responsibility more definitely, the Board of Control has recently decided that future appointments will be made by the superintendents and wardens of the various institutions. Formerly the appointments were

made without consulting these officers, who were legally responsible to the board for the success or failure of their work. In future the superintendents and wardens of institutions are to make all nominations, subject to the approval of the board, and in addition these officers are to have power to suspend, and in some cases to remove, inefficient and rebellious officers and employees. In this manner they are made responsible for the success or failure of their institutions. This is a logical solution of a problem of great difficulty under prevailing political conditions, and must have salutary results. It practically frees the Wisconsin system from the abuses of partisanship, which is a pronounced step in advance.

In connection with the appointments of the board the question of salaries of officials and employees has come up for readjustment. Under the régime of the local boards the law was usually silent as to salaries, with the result that no general rule was followed. During the administration of the Board of Supervision the legislature fixed a maximum salary, leaving to the board the power to determine the amount within this limit. Under the sanction of this law the board reduced the number of offices and fixed the compensation in accordance with the nature and importance of official duties. This principle has been steadily adhered to with good results, both as to economy and quality of service.

The act of 1891 conferred upon the board powers of a wide scope, which it has been slow to assume. The former practice was to leave the business management and the purchase of supplies to the local authorities of each institution. This system made each institution the prey of the business men and supply houses of the locality, and of the political party in power. There was little or no competition in the purchase of supplies. The old supervisory board laid the foundations for this unbusiness-like practice in Wisconsin as in other states. It was helpless to remedy the abuses which were patent to any observing member of the board. The

popular idea had become firmly rooted, that each institution existed for the benefit of the business interests of the particular locality, or of the state at large when the local market could not supply the needed article. These two prejudices had to be overcome before the taxpayers of the state could secure the advantages of competitive prices for supplies. Not only must the principle of competition be extended beyond the locality in which each institution is located, but the market must be thrown open to all bidders. It was not until 1898 that the Wisconsin board took up these questions in a serious way, and from its action resulted a new policy, according to which the board now assumes full responsibility for the purchase of staple supplies, and the general administration of all state institutions. The Board of Control in Iowa inaugurated a similar policy about the same time.

The cost of supplies had grown so rapidly that it became necessary to exercise greater care in their purchase. The total revenue of the Board of Control for the present biennial term is \$1,299,238, which indicates roughly the volume of business controlled by the board, as well as the responsibility which it must assume. In order to determine whether efficiency and economy characterize the management of these public institutions, the same rules must be applied as to the management of a private business. The question must be answered in the light of business experience. In the first place, the same saving has doubtless attended the centralization of the business under the Board of Control which is usually attributed to large combinations in the private business world. If this leads to efficiency and economy in private business, it should prove equally effective in public business. If the Board of Control is enabled to develop more efficient business methods and to realize for the state a great saving by open competition in the metropolitan markets, its work should command the respect at least of the taxpayer.

Those supplies to which the greatest attention is given

by the board in Wisconsin are of course the staple articles. The purchase of these articles requires a close study of the markets, and the greatest care in the selection of the stock in order to prevent adulterations. Naturally the value of any system of purchasing depends upon the business skill and capacity of the parties to the bargain. The method of purchasing coal, flour, meat, groceries, soap, toilet paper and mechanical appliances is essentially the same, and may be briefly outlined. By the purchase of large quantities, bids become close and the difference often lies in the quality of the article. The contract system is used, and in order to get the advantage of changes in price, the board fixes the length of the contract period at about three months for most articles. It also makes special purchases by lot without competition. In the competition for some of the articles, as groceries, the board prefers the firms of the state, but in the purchase of meats the Chicago firms are the lowest bidders and are preferred. The bids are offered under sealed proposals. There must accompany each bid ten samples, one to be retained at the central office of the board, and the others to be sent to each institution for which the supply is purchased. Upon the receipt of the goods the superintendent must return samples to the office of the board and carefully examine all supplies with reference to the contract specifications. In this manner the quality of the supplies has been improved and adulterations avoided. It not infrequently happens that goods are rejected upon the advice of the state chemist.

This policy of purchasing supplies was developed without any specific legislation and naturally created much opposition on the part of local and state supply firms, but the Board of Control very properly held that the taxpayers of the state should receive first consideration, and that the state could not donate to a few business men the surplus above the price in the cheapest market. The board has preferred the business men of the state in so far as it could do so in justice to the taxpayers. The saving to the state is

the best answer to adverse criticism. A comparison of the biennial expenditures of the board since the inauguration of the new policy, with that of the previous fiscal period, shows an average biennial saving of \$121,183.15, which represents roughly the efficiency of the business methods employed by the Board of Control since 1897. The *per capita* cost of all the institutions since 1897 has been materially decreased, as is shown by the table on page 87. But these statistics represent only a part of the saving realized. They do not show the permanent improvements effected through the expenditure of the surplus saved from sustenance. Many thousands of dollars have thus been expended without the necessity of special appropriations. The buildings have been modernized, the grounds beautified, and the standard of living raised.

The method employed has eliminated the possibility of fraud through an elaborate system of checks. The system of bookkeeping is most effective, and has been adopted by other states. The itemization has been carried out in every possible detail, and through periodic reports from the superintendent of each institution the daily and weekly progress is recorded. No funds are received or paid out by the officers in charge, except on warrants by the board save in a few minor cases of produce from the farms; and recently steps have been taken to secure a more careful classification of the resources of each institution, in order to get a clearer idea of the cost of maintenance.

We now turn to another phase of the policy of the Wisconsin Board of Control, which has given it a unique place in the history of charity administration in this country, and even in Europe. It is the practice of other states to care for the insane in state institutions alone. In Wisconsin the Board of Control not only directs the administration of the state institutions, but also has been given a large control over the affairs of the locality in certain phases of its activity. The first step in the development of this central control lies in

STATE BOARDS OF CONTROL.

87

NAME OF INSTITUTION.	Number of Inmates, October, 1900.	Number of Officers and Employees, October, 1900.	Total.	Pay Roll for Sep- tember, 1900.	Per Capita Cost Per Week, 1897.	Per Capita Cost Per Week, 1898.	Per Capita Cost Per Week, 1899.	Per Capita Cost Per Week, 1900.
State Hospital for the Insane	424	122	546	\$3,414 16	\$5 38	\$5 18	\$5 04	\$4 79
Northern Hospital for the Insane	585	169	754	4,201 99	4 75	5 09	4 18	3 89
School for the Deaf	190	46	236	2,110 87	6 48	6 09	4 66	5 26
School for the Blind	105	44	149	1,231 96	7 94	7 27	7 40	7 61
Industrial School for Boys	328	54	382	2,085 66	3 54	5 75	4 16	3 62
State Prison	496	47	543	2,481 17	2 89	2 91	3 01	3 09
State Public School	147	45	192	1,608 47	3 51	4 63	4 87	4 94
Home for Feeble-Minded	394	84	478	2,756 17	7 08	3 77	3 18	3 10
State Reformatory	115	21	136	1,171 17	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total or average	2,784	632	3,416	\$21,061 62				
Average . . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . . .	\$5 20	\$5 09	\$4 56	\$4 54

the power of the board to condemn jails, poorhouses, prisons and lockups on sanitary grounds. The board has been compelled to employ this power in only a few instances, as usually the municipality has corrected abuses without resort to drastic measures.

The second and most important step, known as the Wisconsin System, applies to the care of the chronic insane. The state supports two insane hospitals which are inadequate for the care of all of the insane of the state. The difficulty of caring for the acute and chronic cases in the same institution gradually developed a dual system for the separation of the two classes of patients. As a result the Board of Control inaugurated, in 1881, the policy of selecting the county asylums for the care of the chronic insane. At present there are in the state twenty-seven county asylums which are selected for this purpose and which are known as semi-state institutions.

The most important advantages of the Wisconsin system for the treatment of the chronic insane are economy, home-like surroundings for the patient, elasticity and effective state control. The economy secured by this system is apparent upon consideration of the fact that these hospitals are placed upon local farms of 100 to 500 acres each. The average cost *per capita* per week in the county hospitals in 1898 was \$1.60, for actual money expended, while the average cost for the two state hospitals was \$5.58 for the same period, which included all items of expense. The low *per capita* cost for the local institutions is due to the fact that the patients are largely self-supporting and not to any lowering of the scale of living. The whole cost of the insane is materially reduced by the fact that about two-thirds of the total number of the patients of the state belong to the chronic class and are cared for in the county institutions.

The Wisconsin system of dispersion which provides for the patient homelike influences by placing the hospitals on

separate farms, has much to commend it. The patients are permitted larger freedom, and consequently do not feel the restraints of close confinement. Great effort has been made to provide amusements and a free home life, which has given splendid results.

The system is also exceedingly elastic. The Board of Control selects those counties for the care of the chronic insane with reference to the standard maintained by the county authorities. It has full and final power to prevent the construction of new county asylums in advance of the need of such institutions. The policy of the board is to select those counties which have the largest number of insane in other county hospitals. The annual increase of the insane population of the state is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and by this expansive system all future needs can be provided for as they arise. It will obviously be long before all of the seventy counties of the state are permitted to construct their hospitals; but as a result of the working of this system there are in the state no insane who are necessarily retained in a prison, poorhouse, private asylum, or family. For the care of each chronic patient the state fixes a rate of three dollars per week, one-half of which it pays, and leaves to the county from which the patient comes the additional cost, with a small remittance for clothing. All financial matters are adjusted between the counties through the Board of Control. No moneys pass directly between the board and the county authorities, but all adjustments are made upon the tax books of the state treasury, by adding or deducting the amounts upon the accounts of the counties concerned.

The final and most important advantage of the Wisconsin system is the strong control exercised by the board over the county asylums and poorhouses without destroying the responsibility of the county authorities in the management of their institutions. It establishes this control by a very simple but effective arrangement. By advancing to each county institution one-half of the support of the chronic

patients the Board of Control is enabled to fix a certain standard of efficiency before the county hospital will be selected for such purposes. This also incites a wholesome rivalry among the local authorities. The county asylums are, properly speaking, local institutions, but the Board of Control is in a position to encourage, in a direct manner, uniform and better methods of administration by reason of its power to select those county hospitals which shall care for the chronic insane of other counties, and to withdraw state aid in case the standard of efficiency shall fall below a point which the board feels to be dangerous to the welfare of the patient. Recently the board has taken steps to introduce certain uniform requirements applying to the government of the semi-state institutions, on the ground that the state has a direct interest in each patient by reason of the fact that it provides one-half of his support. The local authorities have received this suggestion in the spirit in which it was intended. In order to carry out this policy there have been issued from time to time circular letters prescribing uniform methods of administration for the county institutions. These do not take the form of mere requests, but have back of them the authority of law. By way of illustration, there was issued on April 5, 1900, a circular to all of the local institutions requiring the selection of medical attendants on the basis of fitness rather than on that of cheapness.

The board is at present engaged in the solution of the prison contract labor question which is so unsatisfactorily solved in most of the states. Before it can enter upon an independent solution of this problem specific legislation will be required. The usual objections to the present contract system are urged by the business interests of the state, and in addition there is a strong feeling on the part of many that the present methods bring the inmates of the prison into too close a contact with the outside world. Specific recommendations will be made to the coming legislature, which will enable the board to solve the problem in the same comprehensive manner in which it has met similar questions.

A review of the administration of the charitable, correctional and penal institutions of Wisconsin under the direct management of one central authority must tend to strengthen the confidence of those states which are leading in the movement towards centralization, and inspire the hope that the system will in time supersede in all of the states the loose and irresponsible supervisory boards. It must be generally admitted that one central authority is capable of developing better and more economical business methods, and of securing a uniformity in the administration of all state institutions, which seems highly desirable. Wisconsin and Iowa have set an example of the direct management of state institutions by a central board and it seems probable that this method will prove as beneficial and effective in the department of public business as it has in the conduct of large private enterprises.

SAMUEL E. SPARLING.

University of Wisconsin.

EDITORIAL.

At a meeting of the board of directors of the Academy, held October 3, 1900, Professor Roland P. Falkner presented his resignation as editor of the *ANNALS*, assigning as an imperative reason for the step, his acceptance of the position of chief of the bureau of public documents in the Congressional Library at Washington. As already announced in the *Bulletin* of the Academy, issued November 13, the board of directors chose Professor Henry R. Seager, editor of the *ANNALS*, to assume control January 1, 1901, and Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, associate editor, to fill the vacancy created by Professor Seager's promotion.

In accepting Professor Falkner's resignation, the directors were keenly conscious of the loss which the Academy thereby sustained. Next to Professor James, Professor Falkner deserves the credit for whatever success the work of the Academy has attained during the eleven years since its foundation. An associate editor of the *ANNALS* from the date of the appearance of the first number in July, 1890, until Professor James resigned the editorship in October, 1895, he has since been editor-in-chief. During this long period of active editorial service he has had charge, successively, of each important department of the periodical, and each reflects to-day his talent for correlation and systematization. In addition to executive ability of a high order, Professor Falkner brought to his task an appreciation of literary values rare in a teacher of Economics. His discriminating criticism has had much to do with improving the literary form of the *ANNALS*.

On assuming control in January, 1896, Professor Falkner announced that, while it was not the purpose of the new board to introduce radical changes of policy, it would be its aim "to make the *ANNALS* not only a picture of the activities of the Academy and a repository for scientific papers, but so far as possible a complete record of current fact and discussion, which is of interest to the students of political and social science." How fully this aim has been realized is shown from a review of the volumes of the *ANNALS* issued under Professor Falkner's direction. In the departments entitled "Miscellany" and "Briefer Communications" have appeared interesting accounts of political and economic reform movements all over the world and fruitful discussions of theoretical and practical problems; under the head of "Personal Notes" a unique collection of biographical notices of the men who are recasting political and social science, either as teachers

or authors, in this country and abroad has been issued; the "Book Notes and Reviews" have embraced an ever-increasing number of titles; and the scope of the "Notes on Municipal Government" and the "Sociological Notes" has been considerably extended. Taking all these departments together, it is but just to Professor Falkner to say that under his direction during the last five years the *ANNALS* has contained a more complete "record of current fact and discussion of interest to students of political and social science" than is to be found in any other periodical. Such an achievement on the part of a salaried editor, with unlimited funds at his disposal to pay for contributions, would be a matter for congratulation. In view of the fact that the editor of the *ANNALS* receives no compensation and that contributions are unpaid, Professor Falkner's success appears all the more deserving of praise.

Besides securing many valuable papers for the *ANNALS* during his editorship, Professor Falkner made notable contributions himself, as is shown in the "Personal Note," which appears on another page. Especially deserving of mention are his articles on "Crime and the Census" (Vol. IX) and "The Development of the Census" (Vol. XII), which, it is believed, may have a salutary influence on the work of the present Census Bureau, and his article on "The Currency Law of 1900" (Vol. XVI), which contains a masterly exposition of the weak points in that statute.

This sketch of Professor Falkner's services to the Academy and to political and social science, would be incomplete if no word was said of the motives which induced him to accept a position in the Congressional Library. In entering upon his new work he has felt that he does not sever his connection with the academic world, for he hopes to contribute toward making the National Library, already strong in all that concerns economics and history, more directly serviceable to scholars and investigators. He also anticipates that increased opportunities for research will enable him to devote his pen to economic discussions as frequently as in times past. Especially, did he desire it to be understood on withdrawing from direct participation in control over the *ANNALS* that his interest in the Academy would remain as strong in Washington as it had been in Philadelphia.

Professor Lindsay, the new member of the board of editors, needs no introduction to readers of the *ANNALS*. That he was willing to assume the duties of an associate editor in addition to the responsibilities of the first vice-president of the Academy and chairman of the important committees on meetings and on members, attests his devotion to the Academy, at the same time that it greatly strengthens the editorial force. With his appointment the separation between the

publishing activities of the Academy and its activity in arranging public meetings, which seemed necessary for a time, is brought to an end. It is confidently expected that the result of this change will be a more harmonious development of the Academy's work along all lines.

The re-organized board contemplates only changes in harmony with the program outlined by Professor Falkner five years ago. The departments of "Miscellany" and "Briefer Communications," combined under the head of "Communications," will be expanded, so as to cover even more fully than in the past matters of current interest not dealt with in the "Principal Papers." The Book Department will remain under the direction of Doctors Young and Cleveland, and will continue the policy inaugurated by Dr. Young of extending the "Notes," so as to do ampler justice to the increasing literature on political and social science. The "Department of Notes" is considerably enlarged by the addition of "Notes on Colonies," conducted by Dr. Young, and "Industrial Notes," conducted by Dr. Meade. The "Notes on Municipal Government" will continue under the direction of Professor Rowe and Dr. Allen.

The scope of the "Sociological Notes" is so extensive that it has seemed wise to distinguish in future "Notes on Sociological Theory" from "Notes on Philanthropy and Social Reform." The former will be under the direction of Dr. Hagerty, Senior Fellow in Sociology in the University of Pennsylvania, and the latter under that of Dr. Edward T. Devine, Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York City. Dr. Devine, through his official position and through his experience as associate editor and member of the executive committee of the board of managers of the *Charities Review* and as editor of *Charities*, is especially well qualified for the task he has undertaken and the board feels that it is to be congratulated on securing his aid.

In order to make room in the ANNALS for the new departments it will be necessary to abridge somewhat the space allotted to leading articles. It is believed that such a change will meet with the hearty endorsement of readers of the ANNALS, many of whom have expressed the view that it is the departments which give its chief value to the publication. At the same time a persistent effort will be made to secure timely papers and the co-operation of Academy members to this end, and toward the improvement of the ANNALS in all directions is earnestly requested.

HENRY R. SEAGER.

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE FUNCTION OF SAVING.

Böhm-Bawerk in his "Positive Theory of Capital" makes saving the primary factor in the formation of capital. I shall endeavor to show that he uses the term "saving" ambiguously, and that by so doing he reaches a false conclusion as to the function of "saving" in its proper and generally understood sense, although his conclusion is sound as regards a certain limited sense of the word.

He says (page 102): "The essential thing is that the current endowment of productive powers should not be entirely claimed for the immediate consumption of the current period, but that a portion of this endowment should be retained for the service of a future period. But such a retention will undoubtedly be called a real saving of productive powers. A saving of *productive powers*, be it noted; for productive powers, and not the goods which constitute capital, are the immediate object of saving. This is an important point, which must be strongly emphasized because, in the current view, too little consideration is given to it. Man saves consumption goods, his means of enjoyment; he thus *saves* productive powers, and with these finally he can *produce* capital."

Again (page 122): "It is not my intention to do as Senior did, and try to make Saving a third factor in production along with Nature and Labor. . . It does not share with them in the work of production in such a way that any part of the same is due to it solely and peculiarly; it only effects that the productive powers, nature and labor, which in any case must do the *whole* work of production, are directed straight to this and no other goal—the production of capital and not of consumption goods. In a word, it has its place, not among the *means* of production, but among the *motives* of production—the motives which decide the *direction* of production."

If all that is implied by the term *saving* is that it changes the *direction* of production, very little if any fault can be found with what I have so far quoted. That capital must be *produced* is a self-evident proposition. That durable capital cannot be produced if all producers expend their energies upon what Professor Böhm-Bawerk calls "present time production" (that is, goods that can be made quickly for immediate consumption) is another self-evident proposition. If the whole working population spends all its time plucking flowers, no lathes and steam engines will be made; but the entire population would pluck flowers only in the event of the wants of the entire population being limited to flowers. Whenever the wants become varied and a

portion of the population demands articles that can be produced in sufficient quantities only by means of lathes and steam engines, then lathes and steam engines (capital) will come into existence. Now if the term *saving* is to be applied only to the motives which, with a varied demand, cause certain producers to make capital, then little if any fault can be found with the contention, and also very little, if any, importance attaches to it. But he uses the term in a wholly different sense, which other sense is the generally understood one. On page 115 he says, "If every individual in the community were to consume exactly his year's income in the form of consumption goods, there would arise a demand for consumption goods which, through the agency of prices, would induce the undertakers so to regulate production that, in each year, the return of a whole year's circle of productive powers would take the form of consumption goods. . . In this case there is no productive power left to dispose of in increasing capital, and capital only remains as it was.

If, on the other hand, each individual consumes, on the average, only three-quarters of his income, and saves the rest, obviously the wish to buy, and the demand for, consumption goods will fall. Only three-fourths of the former consumption goods will find demand and sale."

It should be here noted that Professor Böhm-Bawerk supposes a very unnatural case. It is hardly conceivable that in any real society all of the members would save at the same time. Any assumption, however, is legitimate if due caution be exercised in drawing conclusions. He proceeds, "If the undertakers, however, were for some time to continue the old dispositions of production, and bring to market consumption goods to the amount of ten million labor-years (the assumed total amount before saving commenced) the over-supply would very soon press down the price, business would become unremunerative, and the pressure of loss would compel the undertakers to adapt their production to the changed circumstances of demand."

Professor Böhm-Bawerk sees clearly the effect of demand being reduced one-fourth. Undertakers would have to curtail their production. It is now time to ask how it would be possible for all the members of the community to save at the same time. What would they do with their savings? It is true all the members of a community might *hoard* at the same time, but the author is not talking about hoarding—he elsewhere (page 115) carefully distinguishes between hoarding and saving. We thus see that his assumption of all the members of the community saving one-fourth is not only unnatural but impossible. The effect of attempting it would be the curtailment of production one-fourth, but no saving could be effected if production and consumption both fell one-fourth.

Professor Böhm-Bawerk continues: "They will now provide that, in one year, only the produce of seven and one-half million labor-years is transformed into consumption goods, . . . and the two and one-half millions which remain of the current year's endowment may and will be spent in the increasing of capital."

Here is where the Professor becomes unconsciously switched from the track and henceforth goes wide astray. He draws a wholly unwarranted conclusion in stating that two and one-half millions will be spent in the increasing of capital. It is difficult to see how he could fall into this error after having done so much to show us that capital is unfinished goods. He has himself shown us that demand for consumption goods calls capital into existence. I wish to emphasize what he has taught us—we cannot put too much emphasis upon it; *demand for consumption goods is an absolutely indispensable condition for the calling into existence of capital.* Now, where, in the Professor's assumed case is the *demand* for two and one-half millions of new capital? He has assumed that all of the people have *curtailed their demand* for consumption goods one-fourth. That would throw out of use one-fourth of the capital formerly employed. All of the people are to save one-fourth, whence then comes the demand for additional capital? He attempts to explain this as follows (pp. 115-116): "I say, 'will be spent,' for an economically advanced people does not hoard, but puts out what it saves—in the purchase of valuable paper, in deposits in a bank or savings bank, in loan securities, etc. In these ways the amount saved becomes part of the productive credit; it increases the purchasing power of producers for productive purposes; it is thus the cause of an extra demand for means of production or intermediate products; and this, in the last resort, induces those who have the regulation of undertakings to invest the productive powers at their disposal in these intermediate products."

This explanation is very confused. He sees the necessity of a *demand* for the two and one-half millions of new capital and is thus led to say "that which is" saved will be spent; but under the assumed conditions the only way they could be saved would be by hoarding, as the assumption was that all of the members of the community had curtailed their demand one-fourth. How could they invest in valuable paper in a community where all of the members have curtailed their expenditures one-fourth? People who have curtailed their expenditures do not then become borrowers. If the members of the community all put their savings in a bank or savings bank, that would be hoarding, under the assumed conditions; for the bank could not loan these deposits to a community, the members of which had all curtailed their expenditures one-fourth. Granted the purchasing power of producers for productive purposes would be increased, but

such producers do not increase the production in a community where the demand has just had a uniform shrinkage of one-fourth. It is strange that Professor Böhm-Bawerk could reason out to his satisfaction how a shrinkage of demand could induce undertakers to invest the productive powers at their disposal in intermediate products as he states. Intermediate products to become what products? By whom demanded? According to the assumption, we at first had an annual production and consumption of 10,000,000, then all the members of the community reduced their demand one-fourth, thus requiring only seven and one-half millions. The capital, or intermediate products for the seven and one-half millions was already in existence, and besides the capitalists have on hand two and one-half millions of idle capital. Where is their inducement to produce new capital under those conditions?

Professor Böhm-Bawerk, on page 117, says "to every simple man it is obvious that no stock of capital can be made, or can increase if men regularly consume their whole available income, if, in other words, they do not save. It was reserved for the sharp and subtle wits of learned theorists to suggest the first doubt about it."

I ask whether the Professor has not himself fallen into the same kind of subtle theorizing that he here criticises, in his confused argument, to try to prove that sane men would borrow money and build factories and machinery as a result of a sudden resolve on the part of all the members of the community to curtail their purchases 25 per cent.

This error led Professor Böhm-Bawerk to the conclusion stated as follows (p. 116):

"We see, therefore, as a fact, an intimate connection between saving and formation of capital. If no individual saves, the people, as a whole, cannot accumulate capital, because the great consumpt of consumption goods forces the producers, by the impulse of prices, so to employ the productive powers that, every year, the produce of a whole year's endowment is demanded and used up in the shape of consumption goods, and no productive powers are left free for the increasing of capital. But if individuals save, the altered demand, again through the impulse of prices, compels the undertakers to dispose of the productive powers differently; fewer powers are put, each year, at the service of the present, and thereby is increased the amount of those productive powers whose produce will be found in suspense as intermediate products; in other words, the economical capital will be increased with a view to an increased consumption in the future."

This is wholly wrong. The fact is that "Saving," as the term is commonly understood, has no influence whatever upon the formation of capital. The amount of capital brought into existence is determined wholly by the demand for consumption goods immediately, and

mediately by the conditions which determine the general purchasing power. Any condition that raises the general purchasing power, and therefore the demand for goods, will call into existence as an incident to the production of the goods more capital. Any condition that decreases the general purchasing power, and therefore the demand for goods, will throw capital out of use and curtail its production. As the amount of capital is determined by the extent of the demand, so is the kind of capital determined by the nature of the goods demanded. If the demand for flowers, fruit and other goods of a short production period predominates, then the capital for producing goods of this kind will come into existence. If the demand for travel predominates, then more durable capital such as railroads, steamships and hotels will be produced.

What then is the real function of saving? The object of saving in the vast majority of cases is to provide a fund or income for future use, usually for the late period of life. What one saves is purchasing power, or in other words due bills upon the community's stock of goods. In actual society, instead of all people saving at the same time, as in the assumed case, some are saving and others are consuming without producing, or consuming more than they produce. Those who save lend their surplus purchasing power to those who cannot at the time save. In the case of children, invalids and some other non-producers, the purchasing power is *given* instead of loaned. In either case the purchasing power (leaving hoarding out of account) is simply transferred from the savers to other members of the community, who demand the goods that the savers might have demanded. In an ideal society free from legal monopolies, saving would not curtail demand in the least; neither would it increase demand in the least. It therefore would have no effect upon the formation of capital. Suppose that nobody saved in expectation of retiring from business voluntarily or otherwise. Suppose that all the members of the community produced all their lives, and all their lives lived up to their income. This would be the plainest possible case of a complete demand for everything produced; and if all legal monopolies could be abolished, the greatest possible amount of wealth would be produced, and the maximum amount of capital would come into existence and remain permanently. The amount of capital could not be increased one iota by such a people changing their habits in the direction of saving for future use. The only effect would be that the purchasing power of the savers would be transferred temporarily to others, in time to be returned to the savers or their heirs.

L. G. BOSTEDO.

River Forest, Ill.

LOCAL VS. STATE CONSTABULARY.

In politics, as in industry, there is a constant conflict between tendencies toward centralization and toward decentralization. The coming legislative sessions promise a renewal of this struggle in various states, and even in Congress. How far changes in industrial and social conditions call for a readjustment of former landmarks, is strikingly illustrated by the suggestion, recently abandoned for party reasons, to take from the cities of New York the appointment and control of the city constabulary.

The political significance of this proposition is apt to be lost to view and obscured in the discussion of the constitutional principles involved. The proposed constabulary law is not without precedents. Boston, St. Louis, Fall River, Baltimore, San Francisco, Detroit and Denver, as well as numerous cities in Ohio and Kansas, have police not of their own choosing. Numerous decisions of state and national courts seem to show clearly that at the present time the appointment by states of local police commissioners is a question merely of political and social expediency, and not of constitutional right. Nevertheless, every successive encroachment is bitterly opposed and chiefly on constitutional grounds. What these grounds are is clearly set forth in a case recently argued before the Supreme Court of the State of Rhode Island. A restatement of that case, the arguments of counsels and the decision of the court may throw some light on the issue presented to vest the appointment of city police in a state authority.

In January, 1900, a bill was presented to the General Assembly of Rhode Island "to establish a Board of Police Commissioners for the City of Newport." This board was to be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate, and was in turn to appoint the chief of police. The bill was continued until the May session and passed May 31, "after a duly advertised and one of the largest attended public hearings held in recent years, at which hearing the Mayor of Newport was present and spoke."¹ Three commissioners were appointed, and on June 18 a chief of police was named.

The city of Newport *et al.* protested that the bill was unconstitutional on seven counts.² The essential objection was that "The act throughout infringes the rights of local self-government in the State of Rhode Island, enjoyed and preserved from the settlement of its first four towns to the adoption of its constitution, which the constitution recognizes, and on which it is built."

This involves the view, to adopt the language of the court, that "independent towns, governing themselves in all respects, formed

¹ Brief for respondents.

² Bill of Complaint, Newport Mercury, July 21.

the colony, in doing which they gave up none of their rights of self-government, that they never have given them up, and hence such rights are retained by the people." This view was clearly passed upon by Chief Justice Stiness in rendering the decision for the court. He traced the evolution of Rhode Island from a group of four independent local sovereignties in 1647 to a colony in whose general assembly power was concentrated by the charter of 1663. From 1663 to 1900 the assemblies had repeatedly passed laws affecting particular towns or cities. This evidence was adjudged to outweigh the unwritten theory of local self-government and to refute the claims of the petitioners for local independence. "The legislature has evidently assumed that local officers will not do their duty," said the Court, and "... our conclusion is that the right of a city to the sole control of its police force has not been so reserved as to make unconstitutional the appointment of a chief of police by commissioners," as contemplated by this act.

In support of the bill were cited numerous opinions handed down by justices of various state courts and of the United States courts, of which the following were the most important:

1. "A Municipal Corporation . . . is but a department of the State." *Barnes vs. District of Columbia*, 91 U. S. 544; *Mt. Pleasant vs. Beckwith*, 100 U. S. 524; *Williams vs. Eggleston*, 170 U. S. 310; *Metropolitan R. R. Co. vs. District of Columbia*, 132 U. S. 8.

2. "The police perform state functions and are state agencies and instrumentalities." *Burch vs. Hardwick*, 30 Grattan (Va.) 34; *Chicago vs. Wright*, 69 Illinois 326; *Cobb vs. City of Portland*, 55 Maine 383; *Kelly, Administrator, vs. Cook*, Supreme Court, Rhode Island, October 27, 1898. *General Laws Rhode Island*, Chap. CII, Section 17; *Beer Company vs. Massachusetts*, 97 U. S. 25-33.

3. "Acts creating boards of police commissioners are constitutional." 1857 (New York City), *People vs. Draper*, 15 N. Y. 544; 1867 (New York City), *People vs. Shepard*, 37 N. Y. 286; 1860-1900 (Baltimore), *Mayor vs. Police Commissioners*, 15 Md. 376; 1861-1900 (St. Louis), *State vs. County Court of St. Louis*, 34 Mo. 567; 1865-1900 (Detroit), *People vs. Mahoney*, 13 Mich. 500; *People vs. Hurlburt*, 24 Mich. 81, 103; *Park Commissioners vs. Auditors*, 28 Mich. 236; *Allor vs. Wayne*, 43 Mich. 76; *Metropolitan Police Board vs. Wayne Auditors*, 68 Mich. 580; 1876-1900 (Ohio), *General Law, State vs. Covington*, 29 Ohio 113; 1885-1900 (Boston), *Commonwealth vs. Plaisted*, 148 Mass. 386; 1888-1900 (Kansas), *General Law, State vs. Hunter*, 38 Kansas 581; 1894-1900 (Denver), *Trimble vs. People*, 19 Colorado 196.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

University of Pennsylvania.

PERSONAL NOTES.

AMERICA.

Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.—Dr. Roland P. Falkner¹, the editor of the *ANNALS*, has been appointed Chief of the Division of Documents in the Library of Congress, and entered upon his duties October 1. His services in connection with the *ANNALS* and the general work of the Academy are commented upon by his successor in a signed editorial, which appears in this issue.

Dr. Falkner was born April 14, 1866, at Bridgeport, Connecticut, where his father, the Rev. Dr. John B. Falkner, was then rector of Christ Episcopal Church. In 1869 the family moved to Philadelphia, and it was here that Dr. Falkner was educated in the public schools, and where, after graduating from the Philadelphia Central High School, he entered the University of Pennsylvania, taking the then newly established course in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy. From the University he graduated, in 1885, with the degree of Ph. B., and immediately went to Germany, where he studied Political Economy and Philosophy, at the Universities of Berlin and Halle, taking the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the latter institution, near the end of the year 1887. He thereupon went to Paris, where he spent three months in studying Political Economy at the Collège de France. While at Paris, he made a special study of the schools for higher commercial education in that city. While still abroad he was appointed Instructor in Accounting and Statistics, at the University of Pennsylvania, upon announcement of which he returned to Germany and spent the summer semester of 1888 at the University of Leipzig, engaged in the study of German Commercial Law. His work as instructor at the University of Pennsylvania began in September, 1888, with which institution he has been connected for twelve years, until the date of his resignation to accept the appointment to the staff of the Library of Congress. He was made Associate Professor of Statistics in the University of Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1891, at which time he declined a call to the Professorship of Political Economy, at the Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

During this period of academic work, in addition to teaching, Dr. Falkner made frequent contributions to the scientific literature in his

¹ See *ANNALS*, vol. iii, p. 510, January, 1893.

chosen subject, and was conspicuously identified with two important pieces of public service :

First, as statistician to the sub-committee to the Committee of Finance of the United States Senate, which was charged with the investigation of prices and wages in the United States. The materials for this work were gathered largely through the agency of the United States Department of Labor, but the analysis of the figures was confided wholly to Dr. Falkner, who began the work in the fall of 1891. The results were the well-known Aldrich Reports, devoted, respectively, to "Retail Prices and Wages" (three volumes), and "Wholesale Prices, Wages and Transportation" (four volumes). The report is, perhaps, the most important contribution of its kind to the history of prices and wages in the United States, which has been made by our government.

Second, in the fall of 1892, Dr. Falkner was appointed secretary of the American delegation to the International Monetary Conference, at Brussels, where he also acted as one of the secretaries of the Conference. The translation of the official French text of the Proceedings, published as a part of the American report, was prepared by Dr. Falkner and Mr. Smith, the English secretary.

Since 1893 Dr. Falkner has pursued, uninterruptedly, his academic work at the University, though he has taken considerable part in various scientific societies, and especially devoted himself to the interests of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Among the other scientific societies of which he is or has been a member may be mentioned, the American Statistical Association, the International Prison Association, Pennsylvania Historical Society, International Criminal Law Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Economic Association, of which he was vice-president from 1896 to 1898 ; the National Conference of Charities and Correction, etc. Perhaps the most significant of all was the honor conferred upon him in 1894, when he was elected a member of the International Statistical Institute, whose membership is limited to two hundred, drawn from all parts of the world.

Some idea of the wide scope and broad sympathies and the indefatigable industry, as well as the rich results which have characterized Dr. Falkner's busy career, may be obtained from a glance at the appended list of his more important published writings. No biographical note, however, nor mere list of achievements, can adequately express the genial personality and the intellectual vitality which have so endeared him to his colleagues and associates in his past work, and which bespeak for him large results in the difficult work which he has undertaken.

"*Die Arbeit in den Gefängnissen*," Jena, 1888.

"*Prison Statistics of the United States*," Philadelphia, 1889.

"*Statistics of Private Corporations*." Publications of the American Statistical Association, No. 9, March and June, 1890.

Translation into English of Meitzen's "*Geschichte, Theorie and Technique der Statistik*." Published by the AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, Philadelphia, 1891.

"*Academic Instruction in Political and Economic Science in Italy*." ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY, April, 1891.

"*Criminal Statistics*." Publications of the American Statistical Association, No. 15, September, 1891.

"*Proposed Statistical Legislation*." Publications of the American Statistical Association, No. 17, March, 1892.

"*Statistics of Prisoners, 1890*." 8vo, 56 pp. Wardens' Association of the United States and Canada, 1892.

"*Retail Prices and Wages*." Report of Statistician of Senate Subcommittee on the Tariff. Senate Report 986, Fifty-second Congress, 8vo, 90 pp.

"*The Theory and Practice of Price Statistics*." Publications of the American Statistical Association, June and September, 1892.

"*Wholesale Prices, Wages and Transportation*." Senate Report, 1894, Fifty-second Congress, 1893. Report of Statistician, pp. 373.

"*American Economic Association*." ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY, November, 1892.

"*The International Statistical Institute*." Publications of the American Statistical Association, December, 1895.

"*Crime and the Census*." ANNALS, January, 1897.

"*Some Aspects of the Theory of Rent*." *Ibid.*, July, 1898.

"*The Development of the Census*." *Ibid.*, November, 1898.

"*Statistics of Crime*." In Volume on Federal Census. Publications of American Economic Association, 1899.

"*Wage Statistics in Theory and Practice*." Publications of the American Statistical Association, June, 1899.

"*Have We Sufficient Gold in Our Circulation?*" Forum, August, 1899.

"*The Movement of Prices Since 1890*." Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, March, 1900.

"*Money*." Progress, March, 1900.

"*Is Crime Increasing?*" Forum, July, 1900.

"*The Currency Law of March 14, 1900*." ANNALS, July, 1900.

"*The Finances of British South Africa*." In Volume on Colonial Finance. Publications of American Economic Association, August, 1900.

Harvard University.—Dr. Thomas Nixon Carver¹ has been appointed Assistant Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University. In recent years Dr. Carver has been Professor of Economics and Sociology at Oberlin College.

Iowa State University.—Dr. Isaac Althaus Loos has been appointed Professor of Sociology and Political Philosophy in the Iowa State University, and also Director of the Iowa School of Political and Social Science, established by that University in June, 1900. He was born December 6, 1856, at Upper Bern, Berks County, Pa., and obtained his early education in the public school of Upper Bern and through private tuition. He attended the Lebanon Valley College (Annville, Pa.) 1872-75, and Otterbein College (Westerville, Ohio) 1875-79, receiving the degrees of B. A. in 1876 and M. A. in 1879. He pursued graduate studies at Yale University 1879-82, Collège du France, Paris, 1882-83, and Leipsic University, 1883-84.

Dr. Loos was then appointed Professor of History and Political Science in the Western College (Toledo, Iowa), which position he held until December, 1889, going from there to the State University of Iowa in January, 1890. For the next six months he was Lecturer in Political Science and Didactics, and from June, 1890, to July, 1900, he has been Professor of Political Science. Dr. Loos is a member of the American Economic Association, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and has been, for the past two years, president of the Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction. He has written:

"*The College and the University*," in the U. B. Quarterly Review. Dayton, Ohio, January, 1891.

"*Syllabus of Lectures on the Industrial Revolution*." 32 pp. Iowa City, 1892.

"*Special Statistics of Iowa Colleges*." Proceedings of the Iowa State Teachers' Association, 1893.

"*The Ethical Element in Law*." University of Iowa Law Bulletin. 10 pp. February, 1895.

"*The Association of Colleges in Iowa*." Educational Review, March, 1896.

"*University Extension*." Midland Monthly, November, 1896.

"*Outlines of Lectures on the History of Education*." Iowa City, 1896.

"*The Beginnings of Banking*." Bankers' Magazine, July, 1897.

"*Political Philosophy of Aristotle*." ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, November, 1897.

"*Municipal Ownership of Public Service Plants*." Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of Iowa Municipalities, October, 1898.

¹ See ANNALS, vol. xiv, p. 223, September, 1899.

"*Studies in the Politics of Aristotle and the Republic of Plato.*" 296 pp. The State University of Iowa Press, 1899.

Mr. Harry Grant Plum has been appointed Instructor in History at the Iowa State University. He was born in Johnson County, Iowa, November 3, 1868, and received his early education in Shelby County, Iowa, rural schools and high school and the Iowa City Academy. He attended the State University of Iowa 1890-96, receiving the degrees of Ph. B. in 1894 and A. M. in 1896. Mr. Plum was Fellow in History at the Iowa State University 1894-96, and Instructor in the same institution from 1896 to 1898. From 1898 to 1900 he was Scholar and Fellow in Columbia University.

Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh¹ has been promoted to the position of Professor of Political Science at the Iowa State University. His recent publications include the following:

"*Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa.*" Vol. II. State Historical Society of Iowa. Pp. 288. 1897-1900.

"*First Census of the Original Counties of Dubuque and Des Moines.*" The Historical Department of Iowa. Pp. 93. Des Moines, 1897.

"*Debates of the Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846, etc.*" State Historical Society of Iowa. Pp. viii, 416. Iowa City, 1900.

"*Constitutional Law.*" Progress, Vol. V, No. 11. August, 1900. The University Association, Chicago.

"*Notes on the Early Church History of Iowa City.*" Iowa Historical Record, October, 1899. XV.

"*The History of Iowa from 1699-1821: A History of Governments.*" Iowa Historical Record, January, 1900. XVI.

"*Documents Relating to Governor Lucas.*" Iowa Historical Record, April 1900. XVI.

"*The Pioneer.*" Proceedings of the Old Settlers of Johnson County, Iowa, at their Annual Reunion, August 17, 1899. Iowa City, Iowa, 1899.

Missouri.—Dr. William Sidney Drewry has been appointed Assistant Professor of Economics and of General and American History at the University of Missouri. He was born July 14, 1870, at Petersburg, Va., and received his college education at the University of Virginia. After teaching in private schools 1893-97 he entered upon graduate studies at the Johns Hopkins University, where in 1900 he received the degree of Ph. D. He has written:

"*The Southampton Insurrection,*" a history of slave insurrections in Virginia from 1830 to 1865. Pp. 250. 1900.

¹ See ANNALS, vol. x, p. 428, November, 1897.

Northwestern University.—John Edward George, Ph. D., entered upon his work as Instructor in Economics in Northwestern University in October, 1900. Dr. George was born in Braceville, Ill., May 12, 1865, and received his early training in the public schools of the neighboring towns of Gardner and Braidwood. He prepared for college at Grand Prairie Seminary, Onarga, Ill., entering Northwestern University in 1891 as a state scholar. While at Northwestern Dr. George gave especial attention to the study of economics and government. At graduation in 1895, with the degree of Ph. B., he was awarded the Cushing Prize in Economics for the best essay on "The Saloon Question in Chicago." The following year he returned to Grand Prairie Seminary as Instructor in Economics and History. During the year 1896-97 he pursued his studies at Harvard University as Scholar of the Harvard Club of Chicago, taking the degree of A. M. in June, 1897. He spent another year at Harvard, holding the Robert Treat Paine Fellowship in Social Science. In June, 1898, he was reappointed to this Fellowship with leave to study abroad. Under this appointment Dr. George spent the year at the University of Halle, Germany, from which he received the degree of Ph. D. in July, 1899. On his return from Europe, in the latter part of the same year, he was engaged for some months as secretary and statistician of the "Improved Housing Association of Chicago." During the latter part of the academic year 1899-1900 he was Instructor in the Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass.

Dr. George is a member of the American Economic Association. He has published the following:

1. "*The Saloon Question in Chicago.*" Economic Studies, vol. ii, No. 2 (April, 1897). American Economic Association.
2. "*The Coal Miners' Strike of 1897.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol. xii (January, 1898).
3. "*The Settlement in the Coal Mining Industry.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol. xii (July, 1898).
4. "*Die Verhältnisse des Kohlenbergbaues in den Vereinigten Staaten* (thesis for the doctorate in the University of Halle). Conrad's *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik.*" Dritte Folge, Band xviii (lxxiii), October and November, 1899.

Oberlin.—Dr. Ernest L. Bogart¹ has been appointed Associate Professor of Economics and Sociology at Oberlin College. He has written recently:

"*The Housing of the Working People of Yonkers.*" Economic Studies, Vol. IV, No. 5, October, 1898.

"*Public Employment Offices in the United States and Germany.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, May, 1900.

¹ See ANNALS, vol. xii, p. 259, September, 1898.

University of Pennsylvania.—Dr. Frederick Albert Cleveland has been appointed Instructor in Practical Finance at the University of Pennsylvania. His college training was had at the De Pauw University, where, in 1890, he received the degree of Ph. B. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1892 and practiced his profession until 1896. In that year he entered the graduate school of the University of Chicago, where in the following year he was made Fellow in Political Science. In 1899 he was appointed Fellow in Economics at the University of Pennsylvania, where he received in 1900 the degree of Ph. D. Dr. Cleveland has written:

"*Annotations to the Laws of the State of Washington.*" Hill's Code. Vols I and II, 1894, and supplemental edition, 1896.

"*The Growth of Democracy in the United States.*" Pp. 540. Chicago, 1898.

"*Legislative Tendencies in the United States Relative to Capital and Labor.*" *Jahrbuch der Vereinigung für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft und Volkswissenschaftslehre zu Berlin.* 1898.

"*The Final Report of the Monetary Commission.*" ANNALS, January, 1899.

"*The Legal and Political Aspects of the South African Conflict.*" ANNALS, January, 1900.

Wellesley.—Miss Ryma K. Crandall has been appointed Instructor in History for the present academic year at Wellesley College. Miss Crandall is a graduate of Smith College, having taken her degree of A. B. in 1890. She has since spent three years in graduate study at the University of Chicago, and has served an equal period as Assistant in History at Smith College.

Wisconsin.—Dr. Gustav A. Kleene has been appointed Assistant in Economics at the University of Wisconsin. He was born May 30, 1868, at Peoria, Ill., where he received his early education in the public schools. In 1891 he received the degree of A. B. at the University of Michigan. After teaching in the High School at East Saginaw, Mich., he took up graduate study in 1893 and attended the Universities of Berlin, Tübingen, Columbia and Pennsylvania, where he took the degree of Ph. D. in 1896. After taking up work with the Charity Organization Society of New York he returned to school work in 1898 as teacher of History and Civics in the High School of Peoria, Ill.

ENGLAND.

Cambridge.—Dr. Henry Sidgwick died at Terly, August 28, 1900, at the age of sixty-two. He was educated at Rugby, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. From 1859, until appointed Lecturer in 1869, he was fellow of his college. In 1875 he was appointed Prae-

lector of Moral and Political Philosophy, which office he held until his appointment in 1883 as Knightsbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy. Professor Sidgwick took an active interest in the education of women, and particularly in Newnham College, of which, upon the death of Miss Clough, Mrs. Sidgwick became the head. Professor Sidgwick held the degree of LL. D. from Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews, and that of D. C.L. from Oxford. Shortly before his death he retired from his professorship. His larger works are :

- " *The Methods of Ethics.* "
- " *The Ethics of Conformity and Subscription.* "
- " *Outlines of the History of Ethics.* "
- " *The Principles of Political Economy.* "
- " *The Elements of Politics.* "

SWITZERLAND.

Basel.—Dr. Stephan Bauer,¹ formerly Privatdozent at Brünn, was appointed, October, 1899, Extraordinary Professor of Political Economy and Statistics at the University of Basel. Before entering upon his duties he responded to an invitation of the University of Chicago to lecture on "Colonial Economics" and the "History of Political Economy" in the English language during the first summer quarter, 1899. Dr. Bauer has edited the statistical and other reports of the chamber of commerce of Brünn. Since 1895 Professor Bauer, in conjunction with Dr. Hartmann, of Vienna University, has edited the *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Berlin: E. Felber) to which supplements under the title "*Socialgeschichtliche Forschungen*" have been added since 1897 (hitherto six numbers).

To the list of Professor Bauer's publications noted in a previous number of the ANNALS should be added the following :

" *Die Arbeiter der Brünner Maschinen-Industrie.* " 4to, pp. 198. Brünn, 1895.

" *Quesnay's Tableau Economique.* " *Economic Journal*, Vol. V, No. 17, 1895.

" *Die Landarbeiter in Oesterreich.* " *Die Zeit*, VI, 1896.

" *Die Heimarbeit und ihre geplante Regelung in Oesterreich.* " *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung* X, 2, 1897.

" *Der Ausgleich und die Industrie.* " *Deutsche Worte*, 1899.

¹ See ANNALS, vol. iv, p. 810, March, 1894.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

THE PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION OF PUBLIC HYGIENE, ETC., IN THE UNITED STATES,¹ gives an interesting though necessarily brief discussion of state boards of health, national health organization, voluntary associations, the control of infectious diseases, quarantine, food and drug inspection, public water supplies, sewerage and sewage disposal, school hygiene and medical inspection of schools, municipal hygiene, industrial hygiene, burial of the dead, railway hygiene, vital statistics, rural hygiene, the relation of the general government to public health, state medicine, medical education, registration of medical practitioners, inquest systems of the United States and various statistical statements and charts.

It is to be hoped that copies of this monograph will find their way into every public library. Not less important is it that this work be on the shelves of all sanitary offices, both state and local. Within the brief limits of one hundred pages are found a comprehensive history of the evolution of sanitation in the United States; a thorough and graphic presentation of the existing status of sanitation in the various states, and a searching criticism of the principal defects, with suggestions for improvement.

Of special service, both to the practical administrator and to the voluntary citizens' health organization, are the charts and tables, which must have entailed an enormous expense of time. It is probable that nothing would expedite sanitary reform like the extension of these tables to include the subdivision of states. A health officer without statistics, or a sanitary inspector without charts of his district, is like a miner without a lamp. Dr. Abbot has indicated the nature of the requisite charts and statistics. State and local boards can with little expense carry out the idea. Every statistician who reads the monograph will certainly be tempted to reproduce these studies in his own field.

The author declares the most prominent points in relation to public health in the United States at the present time to be:

"First of all, the marvelous rapidity with which the introduction of public water supplies has been effected in the past twenty-five years, specially in the states west of the Mississippi valley.

¹ *A Monograph on American Social Economics for the Department of Social Economy of the Paris Exposition.* By SAMUEL W. ABBOT, M. D. Pp. 103. 1900.

"*Second*, the stimulus which has been given to the methods employed for preventing the spread of infectious diseases through the agency of bacteriological investigations and the establishment of public and private laboratories for aiding sanitary work.

"*Third*, the necessity of providing a central bureau or department having authority to collect the vital statistics of the United States, from the different states and territories, and to publish the results of the same. It should also be the duty of such bureau to secure uniformity in the methods of collection and presentation in all parts of the country.

"*Fourth*, the need of one strong, central sanitary organization at Washington to co-operate with and to aid state and municipal sanitary authorities in every branch of public hygiene. . . . The failure of Congress to continue the useful work of the former National Board of Health, and its final dissolution, as a consequence, can only be regarded as a serious mistake."

Special emphasis is laid upon the necessity of reliable statistics in the states. Only ten states maintain at present a fairly complete system; viz, the six New England states, New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Michigan. The larger part of the country is, therefore, entirely unprovided with any satisfactory system of state and municipal registration. It is obvious that so long as this situation obtains, that the census returns of vital statistics are little more than guesses so far as thirty-five states are concerned.

It is to be regretted that the author did not discuss more at length the administrative reorganization which will bring about an improvement of our vital statistics. For instance, the statement is made that hygiene is neglected to a marked degree in rural districts. Having asserted that the preservation of the health of the fifty millions occupying the rural districts is a matter of quite as much importance as that which relates to the dwellers in cities, he omits to attribute the neglect of hygiene to the absence of sanitary administration. It is quite probable that the rural population would more readily adopt the hygienic mode of living suggested in detail by the author if they had constantly presented to them in a graphic way by sanitary officers, a demonstration of the expensiveness of their present unhygienic habits.¹

Mr. JAMES DEWITT ANDREWS, in his "American Law,"² recently published by Callaghan & Co., of Chicago, has made a most valuable contribution to the legal literature of the United States. For

¹ Contributed by Dr. WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

² Pp. lxvi, 1145. Price, \$6.50.

the practicing attorney this work far excels anything which has yet been written. The work, however, bears the clear impress of the student of law rather than the student of political science. The author has taken his outline and classification largely from Blackstone and other old books. This classification was formulated at a time when little thought was given to political science. In his division of the subject into the law of persons, things, actions and crimes, Mr. Andrews discusses government as a part of the law of persons. This, while it allows of the discussion of legal principles and precedents, is very confusing to a student of government. Such a classification stands in the way of a clear understanding of the various political relations instead of serving to elucidate the subject. While, therefore, too much cannot be said for the work to one interested in legal rules and precedents, it cannot be recommended as a text-book for the student of political science.

PROFESSOR BULLOCK has recently brought out a "new, revised and enlarged edition" of his "Introduction to the Study of Economics."¹ The principal changes made have been a restatement of the theory of value in Chapter VII, and the addition of a sixty-page chapter on "Governmental Expenditures and Revenues." A comparison of the new edition with the former work shows decided improvement in every case that change has been made. The restatement of the theory of value is especially deserving of commendation, as it now brings out clearly the distinction between the money, or business man's conception of costs and the social or economist's conception. Moreover, the style of the whole work has gained in firmness and clearness as a result of the changes that have been made and the information, noted as such a valuable part of the book, has been brought down to date. The large circulation which the work has enjoyed attests its suitability as a college text, and it may be stated confidently that the new edition will satisfy, even more completely than did the original work, the requirements of teachers of economics.

M. J. FRANCISCO, who explains in his preface that twelve years of practical experience as manager of an electric light plant qualifies him to analyze statements and reports of electric plants, has published a pamphlet of 172 pages, entitled "Municipalities vs. Private Corporations, Political and Business Management Compared."² The only

¹"Introduction to the Study of Economics." Pp. 581. Price, \$1.50. New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1900. The first edition was reviewed in the ANNALS, Vol. X, p. 447.

² Price, \$1.00. Rutland, Vt.: M. J. Francisco & Son, 1900.

thing of any value which it contains is an abstract of an address delivered by the author a few years ago before the League of American Municipalities. The rest of the pamphlet is a hotch-potch of miscellaneous data and expressions of opinion intended, no doubt, to repudiate the arguments of the advocates of municipal ownership, but as a matter of fact, conveying no special ideas on the subject. Here is a sample of many similar statements: "Audubon, Ind. Tried municipal ownership and failed; it leased the plant to private parties and made contract with them for lights, and the lights are now furnished by the lessee." Also: "Portland, Ore. Dear Sir: The municipal plant was sold to the Electric Light Company. We are now paying about two prices for lights, etc." Mr. Francisco adds the following comment, although there is nothing to show upon what he bases it: "Here is a case where the taxpayers were willing to pay two prices for lights to a private company, rather than operate their municipal plant any longer." Not the least interesting part of the pamphlet is that devoted to editorial comments regarding the author. It is due, however, to Mr. Francisco and public utilities corporations to say that "this and other books published by the author have been published at his own expense, without the knowledge, aid or money from any party or corporation."¹

*The History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States,*² is a monograph, giving a systematic account of national pension legislation in the United States from 1776 to the present time. Dr. Glasson defines a *military pension* as "a regular allowance made by a government to one who has been in its military service, or to his widow or dependent relatives." Of these he finds two kinds: (1) *Invalid or disability pensions*, and *service pensions*, the latter comprising *pure service pensions* and *limited service pensions*.

After a brief notice of the early colonial laws and a statement of the national legislation on pensions prior to 1789 the writer treats his subject topically under five heads:

1. Revolutionary Pension Legislation, 1789-1878.
2. Legislation Based on Service between 1789 and 1861.
3. Civil War Pension Legislation, 1861-79.
4. Civil War Pension Legislation, Arrears Act to 1890.
5. Civil War Pension Legislation, Dependent Pension Act to 1899.

As a result of his historical study Dr. Glasson finds that the trend of pension legislation has been constantly toward increased liberality.

¹ Contributed by Hon. CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, Philadelphia.

² By WILLIAM HENRY GLASSON, Ph. D. The Columbia University Press. Pp. 135. Price, \$1.00. The Macmillan Company, New York.

In 1818 the precedent for the service pension was established by the act pensioning all indigent soldiers who had served in the Revolutionary War. The present system is especially liberal, and is of a double nature, (1) that under the so-called general law, and (2), under the act of June 27, 1890. The latter applies to soldiers of the Civil War and their widows in cases where disability and death are not due to military service. It embraces more pensioners than all our other laws taken together, and is considered by the writer as the most defective part of the system. The former applies to all our wars since the Civil War and to wars of the future. The rules regarding beneficiaries are stricter but the benefice is larger.

The existence of a large surplus in the treasury is given as a principal cause for the unwarranted prodigality of the laws; the evil of encouraging citizens to look for a monetary equivalent for the performance of a patriotic duty as the most serious danger.

"THE CAUSE OF THE SOUTH AGAINST THE NORTH"¹ is a summary of the historical evidence in justification of the Southern States and their action up to and including the Civil War. The author, who was formerly a representative in the United States Congress, has given an interesting, if not always pertinent, account of the issues of the Civil War from the standpoint of the South.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT IN MICHIGAN² is a valuable contribution to the literature on the industrial development of the United States. The study covers only ten years of internal improvements in Michigan (1836-46), but the period is one of particular interest, owing to the fact that many of the internal improvements of that state had their beginning at this time. Canal building, railway construction, the development of turnpike roads and bridges formed an important part of the life and interest of this new community. The methods employed, the results accomplished, the financial difficulties undergone, are set forth in detail. The author has proceeded from an investigation of original documents and current literature available to few students in history and economics.

"THE COUNTY PALATINE OF DURHAM,"³ by Gaillard Thomas Lapsley, Ph. D., strikes to the very root of English constitutional history.

¹ By B. F. GRADY. Pp. 345. Price, \$1.00; \$1.50. Raleigh, N. C.: Edwards & Broughton, 1899.

² By Hannah Emily Keith, M. L. Pages 48. Price, paper, 50 cents. Michigan: Political Science Association, July, 1900.

³ Published in Series of Harvard Historical Studies. Vol. viii. Pp. xv, 380. Price, \$2.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The author has selected the County Palatine of Durham as a norm, presenting all of the characteristics of the smaller group in English political society; we are thereby given a much more exact knowledge of the constitutional government of the entire empire. He traces the history of the County Durham from its origin, portraying in minute detail the structure of executive and judiciary, as well as the financial and military arrangements. This study is of especial interest to the American student on account of the importation of English institutions in colonial government. It is impossible to understand the colonial establishment of New York, Virginia and the Carolinas without knowing the local government of England at the time. Dr. Lapsley has given us a working model, from which we can reconstruct our early colonial institutions with much greater accuracy than was heretofore possible.

MR. LECKY'S recent work, "The Map of Life,"¹ touches two points of interest in the field of social science, the first being the rapid decline, during the past generation, of the love of individual liberty. The English race are now "contentedly submitting great departments of their lives to a web of regulations restricting and encircling them." The historian declares that "the triumphs of sanitary reform as well as of medical science are perhaps the brightest page in the history of our century." "At the same time the marked tendency of this generation to extend the stringency and area of coercive legislation in the fields of industry and sanitary reform . . . may in more ways than one greatly injure the very classes it is intended to benefit."

The second reflection of special interest relates to the South African policy of the dominant English party. "The Jameson raid was one of the most discreditable as well as mischievous events in recent colonial history, and its character was entirely unrelieved by any gleam either of heroism or of skill." English public sentiment was grossly deceived, "one of the chief and usually most trustworthy organs of opinion having been made use of as an organ of the conspirators." Cecil Rhodes is held responsible. His popularity with the British public is cited as evidence that the standard of morality in international politics has not kept pace with the improving standard of morality in home politics. The following sentences sound a solemn warning which, at the present time, may be construed as addressed to each of the leading world powers: "Of all forms of prestige, moral

¹ *The Map of Life, Conduct and Character.* By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. Pp. xlv, 352. Price, \$2.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899.

prestige is the most valuable." "A nation wins prestige if its policy is essentially honorable and straightforward, if the word and honor of its statesmen and diplomatists may be trusted implicitly, and if intrigues and deceptions are wholly alien to their nature."

THE SOURCE-BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORY¹ is a bold attempt to give in a single volume a collection of sources extending from "the first mention of Britain by ancient historians to the last great treaty with the Boers of South Africa." To the important constitutional and legal documents which are selected with a view to furnish a framework for the history of national development, a great deal of illustrative material is added, which is not strictly documentary. The work of the author therefore called for careful discrimination in the selection of material. The result, from the standpoint of political history, is eminently satisfactory; the political, legal, and even the ecclesiastical changes and growth are admirably set forth so far as the limits of the work would allow. From the point of view of English social and economic development, however, the book is a decided disappointment; a few sources regarding the organization of rural and municipal society in the early mediæval period are given, but the great movements of more recent centuries, such as the abolition of serfdom, the transition from villainage to free labor, and the important social and economic changes of the early Tudors are absolutely ignored. Nor does the great industrial revolution and the consequent readjustment receive better treatment. This peculiar bias in the choice of material is inexcusable and has resulted in an unfortunate and serious defect in an otherwise meritorious work.

The constructive work by the author appears to advantage in the chapters on "Bibliography of Sources," followed by one of less value, giving the "Sources Arranged by Epochs."

"CASES ON CONSTITUTIONAL LAW"² is a convenient collection of the most important cases affecting our constitutional development. The value of these collections in general depends upon the ability of the compiler to select those decisions and just those parts of each decision which are important. In the second place the value of the compilation depends upon the description of all the incidents surrounding the case. President McClain has chosen his cases and his quotations from each case admirably. It is, therefore, to be regretted

¹ By GUY CARLETON LEE, Ph. D. Pp. 609. Price, \$3.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1900.

² By EMLIN MCCLAIN. Pp. xv, 1080. Price, \$4.50 net; \$5.00. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1900.

that the space at his command did not permit of a satisfactory explanation of the origin of each case. In the chapter on "The Government of Territories," the book bids fair to be antiquated in a very short time by reason of the rapid development of our constitutional law on this point. One or two important and interesting cases are not found in the compilation, but the ground as a whole is well covered and it may be said that the object of the collection is attained.

DR. ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER has rewritten his monograph on "The Referendum in America,"¹ and brought it up to date. Among the most important additions are the first three chapters on "The Interplay of French and American Thought in the Eighteenth Century," "The Downfall of Franklin's Government in Pennsylvania," and "The Rise of the Constitutional Convention." In these three chapters the author gives a most interesting discussion of the conflict between the political philosophies of Franklin and John Adams, Franklin representing the extreme radical tendency of democracy, while Adams represented the theory of checks and balances. Dr. Oberholtzer is of the opinion that Franklin's system worked more injury than good to the government of the colonies and the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776 is pointed to as an indication of this. The author thinks it fortunate that the philosophy represented by Adams triumphed in the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787.

After this preliminary discussion, which might well have been condensed into a single chapter and entitled "Radical *versus* Conservative Democracy," the author proceeds to a discussion of the referendum as it has developed in America. This development has taken place in three forms, the referendum on entire constitutions, the referendum on laws, and the local referendum. The local referendum is the most varied of the three, having developed, for example, as a referendum on bills affecting the scope and form of local government, on loan and financial bills, on liquor licenses, etc. The work is in no sense a critical one, nor is it an attempt to justify direct legislation, but aims to be "an unvarnished historical account of some important developments in the field of popular government in the United States of America." In his concluding chapter on "Referendum *versus* Representative System," Dr. Oberholtzer has been almost too careful in his efforts to avoid a prejudiced conclusion. "One cannot escape the thought, therefore, that there may be compensations in the method of direct legislation, at any rate with regard to local government, and that it may at least not be a tendency to make our system, already bad, in any essential respect the worse." Dr. Oberholtzer's work should help to dispel the widespread ignorance on this important subject.

¹Pp. 430. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.

THE REPORT ON MUNICIPAL TRADING,¹ by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, appointed to investigate this subject, will be found invaluable by all who are interested in the question of municipal ownership and operation of public conveniences. With the usual deliberation and thoroughness of parliamentary committees appointed for the purposes of investigation, the Earl of Crewe and his colleagues held fifteen sittings, all of considerable length, and heard both sides of the question discussed by thirty-five witnesses, representing governmental organs, local bodies, public and private enterprises. The results of the system of questions and answers by which the investigation was carried on are found in this "blue book" entitled "Municipal Trading." The committee consisted of five commoners and five lords.

The minutes of evidence fill about three hundred and fifty pages, and the appendix one hundred and fifty.

From the various tables and statements of the witnesses we gather a number of important facts regarding the present state of municipal activity in business undertakings. In England and Wales there are 265 municipal corporations thus engaged, and also 74 in Scotland. This is 45 per cent of the boroughs in the United Kingdom. The chief industries are: Waterworks, 226; markets, 197; gasworks, 119; baths, etc., 112; tramways, 65; cemeteries, 64; electric lighting, 60; piers, quays, etc., 15; working-class dwellings, 8. The amount of capital involved is \$440,726,975, of which 94 per cent is borrowed. Half of this is employed in waterworks and a quarter in gas. Electric lighting uses seventeen and tramways sixteen millions. Between 1875 and 1896 the percentage of local to national debt rose from twelve to thirty-nine.

All arguments brought forward against municipal trading may be summed up in these statements: (1) that water alone being a universal necessity, municipal industry should be limited to supplying it; (2) municipalities lack the business experience essential to carrying on tramways, gasworks, etc., successfully; (3) local authorities are overworked; (4) municipalities cannot take advantage of modern improvements, or would not without the stimulus of competition; (5) the large number of workmen employed constitute an important electoral factor; (6) using profits from one industry in another is bad finance; (7) private enterprise is discouraged and industrial progress checked; (8) to it is due the backwardness of electrical and

¹ *Report from the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons on Municipal Trading, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence and Appendix.* Pp. x, and 513. Price, 4s. 3d. London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, by Wyman & Sons, Limited, 1900. Blue Book 305.

other industries in England; (9) it involves an enormous increase of debt; (10) it embroils municipal bodies in labor troubles.

On the other hand advocates are not wanting among the witnesses to show that (1) the question of what constitutes a universal necessity differs in different municipalities and, therefore, trading ought not to be limited to water; (2) corporations can borrow money at a very low rate of interest; (3) many men are willing to devote their public life to these undertakings rather than ally themselves with private undertakings; (4) the comfort and convenience of citizens are better looked after; (5) the corporations can employ the most efficient and experienced officials and workmen; (6) they can pay the highest wages and house the workmen better, thereby avoiding labor troubles; (7) increase of debt is merely nominal, and in several cases more capital has been paid off than would have been under companies; (8) only one-third of the local debt of England is due to trading industries; (9) rate-payers generally approve of municipal trading. Detailed accounts are given of the successful municipal enterprises of Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, Blackpool and London. The arguments of private traders against corporations engaging in tramway, electric lighting, gas, telephone, paving manufacture, etc., are answered by tabulated statements and statistics drawn from the experience of some of the best governed cities in the United Kingdom.¹

"INTERNATIONAL LAW"² is one of the latest additions to the Temple Cyclopaedic Primers. The idea of condensing a treatise on international law into less than two hundred pages is a novel one but is decidedly in line with the modern tendency toward shorter books. The author has given a good, though necessarily cursory and suggestive treatment of the most important modern questions, *e. g.* the law of peace and war, neutrality, blockades, etc. In most instances it has been impossible to do more than mention the question at issue and often the author has stated what should be rather than what is the law. Nevertheless, the work is interesting and will doubtless prove useful as an introduction to the subject.

"ETHICAL MARRIAGE"³ is an attempt to discuss the moral aspects of the marriage bond. The author treats several sides of marriage which have not heretofore been discussed in popular works, but he

¹ Contributed by HENRY JOHNS GIBBONS, Philadelphia.²

² By F. E. SMITH, M. A., B. C. L. Pp. 184. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1900.

³ By DELOS F. WILCOX. Pp. 235. Price, \$1.25. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Wood-Allen Publishing Company, 1900.

does so in a way which will not offend even the most delicate sensibilities. While very few will agree with some of the conclusions reached, yet the main thought of the work will be acceptable to all. Emphasis is placed upon the social side of marriage and this feature of the work constitutes a comparative novelty.

THE GOVERNMENT CLASS BOOK¹ is one of the few secondary books intended to present the principles and facts of political science necessary to the proper exercise of the functions of citizenship. The first part, the exposition of general principles of legal and political science, is a revision of Mr. Young's former manual. The second part is a study by Professor Judson of the method and machinery of the government of Illinois.

In addition to the subjects treated in every conventional text-book on civics, six out of fourteen sections are devoted to local government, public revenue, public education, constitutional restrictions on the powers of government and the relations of Illinois to the United States. The teacher will find helpful suggestions in the frequent use of references, as well as in the ten appendices. Here are given an analysis of the Illinois constitution, the governors of Illinois, the presidents of the United States, the electoral votes cast by Illinois, the congressional districts, the senatorial districts and the election districts of the supreme court, the judicial circuits, the area and population of Illinois and Chicago since their settlement and a list of references to laws and constitutions.

REVIEWS.

Historical Jurisprudence. An Introduction to the Systematic Study of the Development of Law. By GUY CARLETON LEE. Pp. xv, 517. Price, \$3.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900.

"The unity which it is the business of jurisprudence to exhibit as underlying all the phenomena which it investigates is the late discovery of an advanced civilization, and was unperceived during much of the time during which those phenomena were accumulating. The facts can only be presented by history, and history may be studied with the sole view of discovering this class of facts. But this is not the task of jurisprudence, which only begins when these facts begin to fall into an order other than the historical and to arrange themselves

¹*The Government Class Book. A Manual of Instruction in the Principles of Constitutional Government and Law.* By ANDREW W. YOUNG and HARRY PRATT JUDSON, LL. D. Pp. 265. Price, 75c. New York: Maynard, Merrill & Co., 1900.

in groups which have no relation to the varieties of the human race. . . . One work on jurisprudence may contain more of historical disquisition, while in another philosophical argument may predominate, but such differences are incidental to the mode of treatment and afford no ground for a division of the science itself."

These words of Professor Holland must be accepted as authoritative. They express with unmistakable clearness a view of jurisprudence which is now taken by the most discriminating students of that science. If such a view be accepted, the title of Dr. Lee's book is a misnomer, for his "Historical Jurisprudence" is not jurisprudence at all, nor is it a history of jurisprudence. In fact, it is an exposition of certain legal systems and should be so entitled. The national codes which he has selected for study are those of Babylonia, Egypt, Phoenicia, Israel, India, Greece, Rome, and early England. Besides these there is an exposition of the Canon Law. The monographs dealing with these codes are grouped in three general parts. Part I is entitled "The Foundations of Law;" Part II, "The Development of Jurisprudence," and Part III, "The Beginnings of Modern Jurisprudence." But something more than names is necessary to give to the different parts of a work an organic unity, and such unity is just what "Historical Jurisprudence" lacks. Speaking from the point of view already indicated, it may fairly be said that Dr. Lee's first part should have been called "Outlines of Early Law;" his second, "The Development of a Legal System," and his third, "The Beginnings of Modern Codes."

Except from a chronological standpoint the ideas treated in Part I could scarcely be said to be foundations of law. Many of them indeed are not even shared in a slight degree by the later codes, and hence would be "foundational" only in the sense of being antecedent to present notions. Of those systems that are to be taken as foundational, Dr. Lee enumerates six—the Babylonian, Egyptian, Phœnician, Jewish, Indian and Greek. Babylonia, he thinks, has through its system exerted an immense influence upon the law of the western world. Here the first needs that gave rise to a legal system were commercial in their character. "The great work of the nation was the production of a system of law necessary to the extended commercial activity of the city and produced by that activity." On the other hand, the basis of the Egyptian code was the relation of the population to the soil. "Foreign commerce, at least in the early and middle empires, was foreign to the Egyptian character." Hence the quiet growth of a system of private customary law not dependent upon legislative enactment. No changes like that produced in the Roman law by the introduction of the *Jus Gentium* are to be traced, nor was the system deeply affected by notions borrowed from neighboring

countries. Phœnicia, however, drew largely upon the legal ideas of Babylon, and its law dealt largely with trade. A new principle was invoked in the Jewish law. Civil and criminal law were distinguished by the influence of religious ideas. No clear conception of the state as a party to the law existed, but revenge between man and man was the underlying principle. Three distinct codes may be observed, that laid down in Exodus, the Deuteronomic code, and the priestly code found in Exodus and Numbers. Indian law was similar in that the whole life of man was treated from an exclusively religious standpoint, since "no circumstances had arisen to cause a distinction between theology, philosophy and law as independent sciences." Greek law was a distinct step in advance over earlier systems. The idea of the state became prominent, and although it was recognized in different degrees and in different ways by the varying codes of Greece, *e. g.*, those of Sparta and Athens, it was always conscious. The law of Rome represented an entirely new phase of human conceptions on the subject. It is a trite commonplace to say that it was the great and enduring contribution of the nation to the world's intellectual wealth. "The position which Greece has held in the history of the culture of the world was in no greater degree owing to its artistic triumphs than was the corresponding position of Rome to its juridical triumphs."

Very much more space is necessarily devoted by Dr. Lee to the law of Rome than to that of any other state. Material, too, is much more abundant and more available. Yet it is just here that the author's method proves disappointing. He does not improve upon the numerous brief discussions of Roman law that are accessible to every student, and the defects of his method of studying the subject have prevented him from tracing the relations between the Roman system and the codes that preceded it. Much the same may be said of the treatment of early English law, but more interesting are the chapters on the barbarian codes and the reception of Roman law. The latter traces the process of transplanting the law of Rome to continental countries.

"Historical Jurisprudence" seems to be made up largely from secondary sources, and hence cannot be regarded as a standard work, whatever its accuracy. It contains no bibliography and few footnotes, and is somewhat lacking in scientific quality. Moreover, as already indicated, it is not a work dealing with jurisprudence in the true sense of the word. Nevertheless, it is a distinctly readable book and will be very useful for convenient reference.

H. PARKER WILLIS.

Washington and Lee University.

History of the Theory of Sovereignty Since Rousseau. By C. E. MERRIAM, JR., Ph. D. Pp. x, 232. Price, \$1.50. The Columbia University Press: Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. XII, No. 4. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900.

A "History of the Theory of Sovereignty Since Rousseau," is the work of a graduate student in the Columbia University School of Political Science. One cannot but admire the courage of the author in undertaking a task so great and at the same time so delicately critical. In view of the fact that he had to pursue his study without a satisfactory system of political philosophy, afforded by recent writers or constructed by himself, Dr. Merriam's monograph is certainly a meritorious production. Its publication will help to arouse a greater interest in the purely theoretical aspects of political science.

Woodrow Wilson once said, in speaking of sovereignty, that "no man who cares a whit about his standing among students of law or politics can afford to approach it lightly." This implied warning to students of political science not to commit themselves, without due deliberation, to a theory of sovereignty did not embarrass Dr. Merriam, since nowhere in his monograph does he propose to take an independent stand on the problems of political philosophy—least of all, on the problem of sovereignty. Nowhere does he criticise or expound the theories since Rousseau, with a view to arriving at a solution of the important but vexing problem of sovereignty. Nowhere does he attempt to indicate the true doctrine. His is rather the task of the annalist, the recorder, the illustrator, the historian. The product of his work is "a historical study" in which it is deemed "sufficient to indicate the various ways in which the subject of sovereignty is approached, and to emphasize the importance of knowing the path that is followed by each school of theorists." Dr. Merriam is content with presenting "illustrations of the various concepts of sovereignty, and their frequent confusion." "The dogmatist," he says, "should show which is the proper point of view."

In the quotations just given is disclosed a weak point in the monograph. For history without interpretation is meaningless. And is it not true that before one is able to discuss to advantage the theories of others, one must himself have taken an independent stand on the problems under consideration? Nor is he who takes such a stand and asserts that *this* or *that* is the proper view necessarily a "dogmatist." For even in this "inductive age" one may philosophize without dogmatism.

Dr. Merriam introduces his study of the history of the theory of sovereignty since Rousseau with a brief sketch of the theory prior to the period that is especially considered. The classical basis of the

theory of sovereignty is found in Aristotle's Politics. The Roman concept is expressed in the sentence, "The will of the prince has the force of law, since the people have transferred to him all their right and power." While the ruling theory of the Middle Ages is summed up as "government based on the consent of the governed." Bodin was the first to treat the subject systematically. Then came Althusius, Hobbes, Puffendorf, Locke, and Rousseau.

General characteristics of the theories of sovereignty leading up to and including the philosophy of Rousseau are: First the individualistic—contractualistic tendency; second, a movement towards the absolutist conception of sovereignty; and third, a failure to recognize "the unity and personality of state."

The period since Rousseau is viewed by the author as a period of reaction against the Revolutionary doctrine of popular sovereignty. The first attack was made by the so-called historical school. Kant and his school opposed the Revolutionary theory. Hegel represented the opposition from a different standpoint. The theory of Divine Right was fostered. The patrimonial theory was revived. The several lines of assault all seem "to converge at one point, namely, the proposition that the state was the result of a contract deliberately made by individuals." The theory of popular sovereignty was generally denied.

The later chapters of the monograph deal with "Popular and State Sovereignty," "The Austinian Theory," "Sovereignty and the American Union," and "Federalism and Continental Theory."

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH.

The State University of Iowa.

The City for the People. By Professor FRANK PARSONS. Pp. 597. Paper, 50 cents. Published by Dr. C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, 1900.

According to the publisher, Dr. Taylor, this valuable work grew out of the desire to present what legal rights the cities of the various states of this country enjoyed in the ownership and operation of public utilities.

In the third chapter of the book, embracing eighty pages, and in an appendix of nearly twenty pages more, is given the best summary extant on this subject. If any one desires to learn the rights of cities in California, Washington, Minnesota or Missouri to draw up their own charters and determine the powers of the city government, or if one desires to know the use that San Francisco and other cities have made of these powers, or what places in other parts of the country enjoy the right to own and operate street railways or gas works or

telephones, etc., and whether the state law permits them to sell to private consumers or to operate only for direct municipal uses, these chapters furnish the information, supplemented, as is all the book, by an unusually full index.

Another chapter, still longer than the one just considered, gives a similarly exhaustive treatment of the progress of the direct legislation movement. There appears to be a tendency to minimize the value of proportional representation and civil service reform and to overlook to some extent the fact that the initiative and referendum are more valuable as a check upon corruption and as an education of the people than as a direct producer of progressive measures. But these suggestions are not intended in any way to detract from the value of the information and discussions in this volume.

The first half of the book contains the fullest presentation of the reasons for municipal ownership and operation of public utilities or monopolies that has appeared. This part of the treatment is frankly acknowledged to be based, in some measure, so far as the facts, but not the interesting method of treatment, are concerned, upon "Municipal Monopolies," published by Crowell a year ago, to which Professor Parsons contributed chapters.

Although myself a pronounced believer in the gradual extension of the policy here urged, I could wish that there were a fuller discussion of the really strong arguments that are often presented for the opposite policy, and a fuller admission of the dangers to be avoided in municipal activities, such as the spoils system, unprogressiveness and popular opposition to labor-saving machinery. These are dangers which seem to have been very largely overcome in Great Britain, in the smaller cities of this country, and indeed in some of the larger ones, but they are still a serious handicap to many American plants.

Professor Parsons is exceedingly painstaking, accurate and honest in his attempt to secure reliable data. In some of the larger phases of the subject, however, certain points are omitted, which in all fairness should be stated, and which Professor Parsons would be one of the first to acknowledge if his attention were called to them. For example, on page 129 there are given, in parallel columns, the price paid private companies for street arcs in ten American cities before the beginning of public ownership and the cost in the same cities afterward, including in cost, interest, depreciation, insurance, taxes, etc.; but it is not stated that part of the enormous difference, frequently amounting to over \$100 an arc light per year, was due to the fact that under private ownership the prices paid were for a very few lights, in a contract made some years before, in the infancy of the electric industry—contracts which were often just expiring—and that in most

cases at least much lower prices than previously charged were offered for a renewal of the contract. In probably every case in that table the people are convinced that the change to public ownership was advantageous, but the amount of financial saving per arc light was hardly as great as the figures, doubtless entirely accurate in themselves, would indicate. Likewise on page 147, it is very truly observed that one advantage of public ownership is the tendency to increase the number of consumers of water, gas, etc. In a table, however, which Professor Parsons presents showing that twenty private water works have an average consumption of about one hundred gallons per day per capita, and the same number of public plants in cities of about the same size, have nearly 80 per cent more than this, the point is missed that all water works engineers agree that sixty to eighty gallons a day per individual is ample, and that the rest is probably waste, because of leaky mains and services, and lack of meters. What is needed is rather a table showing how the total number of consumers bears a greater proportion to the population in cities having public works than in those possessed of private plants.

The work on the whole, however, is a mine of information to those writing or discussing the subjects treated, and will have a great influence in increasing the fast rising tendency to adopt the lines of policy urged by the writer.

Indeed, the few criticisms just given were the only ones that suggested themselves in the course of a somewhat careful examination of the book, while the great number of admirable chapters and discussions can only be referred to in a brief review.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

Bureau of Economic Research, New York.

The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study. (Lowell Institute Lectures.) By WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY, Ph. D. Accompanied by a Supplementary Bibliography of the Anthropology and Ethnology of Europe, published by the Public Library of the City of Boston. Pp. xxxii, 624; x, 160. Price, \$6.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1899.

The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography. By J. DENIKER, Sc. D. With 176 illustrations and two maps. Pp. xxiii, 611. Price, 6s. London: Walter Scott, Ltd., 1900.

Both of these books indicate a new tendency in the use of anthropological and ethnographical data, and possibly also in the methods of work in these departments of knowledge. The new tendency consists in presenting this material chiefly under sociological categories

and with a view to indicating its sociological significance. Neither of the works under review professes to present original material or to have enlarged the scope of the respective subjects treated, but rather to have sifted and collected in convenient form the result of the latest researches in these fields. This claim on the part of both Professor Ripley and Dr. Deniker is entirely too modest, since both works teem with suggestions which should prove of the greatest possible value to the original worker.

Professor Ripley's volumes have deservedly received a large measure of praise both at home and abroad. Their attractiveness in typographical aspects alone, combined with the pleasing style in which they are written, enlarges considerably the circle of readers to whom such studies usually appeal. The significance of Dr. Ripley's work for students of the social sciences is well brought out in the first two chapters, containing the introduction and a discussion of language, nationality and race, and in the three concluding chapters on (1) Social Problems: Environment *versus* Race, (2) Social Problems: Ethnic Stratification and Urban Selection, and (3) Acclimatization: The Geographical Features of the European Race. In these chapters one finds the meat of the whole volume, admirably placed in juxtaposition to the chief results of studies allied to those of race traits.

Dr. Ripley's theories start from the point of view of the new geography which he regards as a branch of economics, having a direct bearing upon history and sociology, and comprising the study of physical environment in its influence upon man. The distinction he draws between the social and physical environment, which amounts to drawing a line between the indirect and direct influence of environment, enables him to avoid some points of controversy and to reconcile others in the dispute between those who interpret any civilization solely in terms of race, and those who consider that race counts for nothing. In so many cases the absence of definite proof or of evidence to which appeal can be made, leaves a choice between these diverging paths to the personal bias of the investigator. It is the chief service of Dr. Ripley's book that it has brought so many of these debatable questions concerning racial and environmental influences within the scope of scientific classification, and subjected them to positive tests. This fact is especially noticeable in his consistent endeavor to adhere to a geographical basis of distribution in the classification of the races of Europe, where so much crossing has taken place that language, customs and all the traditional ear-marks are most misleading signs of race origins. The discussion which points out that community of language should not be confused with identity of race, *i. e.* that nationality may often follow linguistic boundaries, though race bears no necessary relation whatever to them, is a most illuminating one.

Professor Ripley's discussion of the growth in urban population shows very clearly that this is due almost solely to economic and industrial causes; not peculiar to the United States, but equally characteristic of changes of population in Europe, where the same industrial forces operate. The significance therefore of recent French theories emphasizing that the dolicho-cephalic type is necessarily impelled to city life and of the Hansen classification of the three vitality classes and the consequent predominating influences of country life are given less weight than is usual in the discussion of these topics. From the testimony submitted by Dr. Ripley it is shown that the tendency of urban populations is certainly not toward the pure blond, long-headed and tall Teutonic type. Urban selection is something more complex than a mere migration of a single racial element in the population towards the city. There is a process of physiological and social selection that must be taken into account.

The conclusions to which Professor Ripley's very complete discussion of the material relating to acclimatization leads do not promise immediately satisfactory results, if, indeed, they promise any ultimate success in the attempts of the white man to colonize the tropics. Acclimatization may be a failure and yet the problem be solved through changes bringing about such improved conditions of public hygiene that the white man can live in the tropics.

In the body of the book the present demography of Europe is studied and the inhabitants presenting the most diverse racial aspects classified as to their origin and descent under the heads of the three European races, the Teutonic race, the Alpine race and the Mediterranean race. In the main this classification agrees with that of leading ethnologists, although it differs radically from that adopted by Deniker, who raises a great many sub-groups to the rank of independent races. Ripley, in one of his appendices has given good reasons to show that the difference between his method and that of Deniker is not a vital one. Of the physical traits which Professor Ripley relies upon as evidence of racial type, probably too much stress is laid upon measurements of the cranium, although in his discussions of the value of physical traits and their relative importance, Dr. Ripley is extremely fair.

Not only has Dr. Ripley laid all English readers under a debt of deep gratitude for the clearness with which he has presented the complex facts of one of the difficult departments of scientific inquiry, but he has greatly increased the obligation by the preparation of a bibliography, which will prove a guide to all students for a long time to come. It is worth while noting in this connection that the bibliography can be obtained separately in the list of publications issued by

the Boston Public Library. The public spirit of the Boston Public Library, which made possible the compilation of this bibliography, and its wider circulation as a library document in addition to the part which it plays as a companion volume to Dr. Ripley's book, deserves praise.

Dr. Deniker's task in his outline of Anthropology and Ethnography is well executed and his book is likely to give much more definiteness to the general reading and study of this subject on the part of those who do not intend to make it a specialty. After a brief discussion of ethnic groups and zoölogical species, we have two chapters given to the Somatic characters, special attention being paid to the distinctive morphological characters, stature, teguments, pigmentation, cranium, proportion of the body and various organs; then two chapters to physiological and ethnic characters, respectively, giving chiefly under the term "ethnic," linguistic characters; three chapters, covering about one hundred and fifty pages, devoted to sociological characters, in which is discussed: (1) Material Life (alimentation, habitation, clothing, means of existence); (2) Psychic Life (games, recreations, fine arts, religion, myths and science); (3) Family Life (sexual relations and child sociology); (4) Social Life (home life, social organization, international organization, war and commerce).

The remainder of the volume, covering six chapters, is given up to a discussion of the classification of races and a description of the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Oceanica. Deniker's classification is really based upon the description of existing varieties rather than upon a consideration of the problem of grouping these varieties into a few racial categories. On this point Professor Ripley's Appendix D (page 597) on Deniker's classification of the races of Europe is worthy of note and what he there says will apply with almost equal force to his classification elsewhere. Deniker's work might have been made even more useful by some condensation. Especially would this have been possible in the earlier chapters on Morphological and Physiological Characters. The detail into which he goes is rather confusing to the class of readers for whom he is writing.

SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY.

University of Pennsylvania.

China, the Long-Lived Empire. By Miss E. R. SCIDMORE. Pp. xv, 459. Price, \$2.50. New York: The Century Company, 1900.

Village Life in China: A Study in Sociology. By ARTHUR H. SMITH, D. D. Pp. 360. Price, \$2.00. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

Overland to China. By ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN. Pp. xii, 465.

Price, \$3.00. New York: Harpers & Bros., 1900.

The dramatic and mysterious course of events in China during the last few months has naturally excited tremendous popular interest in the "sleeping giant of the East" and evoked from the publishers a flood of literature on all phases of the Chinese question. Until within the last two years most of us have known and cared very little about China. The so-called "yellow peril" has seemed remote. Our concern with the Orient has been one mainly of markets, and has not led to any close study of the life of the people or of their political condition and prospects. Many intelligent readers, therefore, are for the first time opening books upon China, and are looking especially after reliable information concerning the remarkable eruption which the newspapers have declared to be the signal for the dismemberment and partition of that great empire. Such readers must be warned that no one book will tell them all they want to know. In fact, if they begin with the new books now coming from the press and read them all, they will probably feel that they have taken hold of a hopeless subject. Men might as well try to learn something about color by watching the whirl of a kaleidoscope as to expect to get an understanding of China by reading the books that have been published this year. The subject is itself so vast, the institutions are so unlike anything which the occidental reader is familiar with, the Chinese point of view is so incomprehensible and apparently contradictory and irrational, the motives, the ideals, the morals, the religion, the instincts of the people are so at variance with our own ideas of what is natural in those fields, that few readers have the impartial patience necessary to get all around the subject. They either seize upon a few characteristics of the people, thinking that in these they have a clue to the whole, or they give up in despair, feeling that the Chinese question is a sort of "13-14" puzzle, and that the earth would be mightily benefited if those 400,000,000 unspeakable barbarians could only be put in one bag and dropped in the middle of the Pacific. The wise reader will go a little back of the present in his search for literature. He will read Dr. Williams' "The Middle Kingdom," Arthur Smith's "Chinese Characteristics," and the books by Wilson, Curzon and Colquhoun. Then he will find that many of the books now appearing are not worth a moment's time, and the few good ones just published will really mean something to him.

The most interesting of recent books on China, and the one which will probably prove most satisfactory as a first book on China, is Miss E. R. Scidmore's "China, the Long-Lived Empire." Miss Scidmore has made seven different journeys through China and seems to have

seen everything that a woman can see. Being a woman, she is closely observant of hundreds of little things which escape the male observer; being also a well-informed and much-traveled woman, well read in the literature of the East, she has written a book full of life and color, and at the same time not lacking in sensible generalizations. She does not profess to give us a complete and satisfactory account of the Chinese Empire and its people. In fact, she expressly avows her inability to do that. That "oil skinned mystery," the Chinaman, is a conundrum which she has given up. She admits that she understood him less on her seventh visit than she did on her first, and does not know whether he is a boneless or a sleeping giant. Her book will certainly not inspire any passion for travel in China. "The mere tourist," she says, "the traveler without an errand or object beyond entertainment, finds that inner China does not entertain, amuse, please or soothe him enough to balance the discomforts. Nothing Chinese seems worth seeing; one has only a frantic, irrational desire to get away from it, to escape it, to return to civilization, decency, cleanliness, quiet and order." Miss Scidmore, however, had an errand and she stuck manfully to it. She paid a visit to all the important provinces, talked with various classes of the people, and everywhere insisted on seeing everything which a generous distribution of bank notes would render visible. Her book was evidently written before the recent outbreak, and is perhaps all the more trustworthy on that account. It contains descriptions of the cities the names of which newspapers have made familiar to the public in the last few months, reviews vividly the astonishing career of the Empress Dowager, describes the work of the missionaries in China, and gives many interesting glimpses of the occupations and manners of the people. The now infamous Prince Tuan is referred to as a rabid anti-foreign conservative and leader of the secret societies opposed to foreigners and western progress. The word "Boxer" does not occur in the book; yet the reader will feel that he has a much clearer idea of the motives and purposes of that bloodthirsty order than he has been able to get from the newspapers. The book is profusely illustrated, the author having made bold and diligent use of a camera. The illustrations are fresh and original. They picture just the things which a bright woman would either admire or laugh at, and add greatly to the charm of the book.

Dr. Smith's "Village Life in China" deserves the highest praise. In it he is at work on the same study that engaged him in his excellent "Chinese Characteristics." He does not attempt to solve the Chinese question or to predict the future course of development, but gives the reader a clear and most interesting description of the whole

life and occupations of the masses of the people. The economic future of China does not depend on its resources, but on its civilization. Is the Chinaman improvable, can he be developed into a large consumer? Can he be organized into armies of labor? Can the myriads of China be made to do their full share in the world's work? Can they be brought to accept western invention? Will they ever overtake the swift chariot of western progress? While these questions are not answered by the author, he gives most of the materials for their solution. He has crowded into this book a prodigious mass of highly suggestive and detailed information concerning the daily life of the people among whom for twenty-two years he worked as a missionary. In his vivid pages we see the Chinese village, the Chinese farm, the Chinese temple, the Chinese system of education, the homes, roads, fairs, theatres, weddings and funerals of China. In short, we get a look at the real Chinaman. We understand the strength of the iron bands of conservatism which bind the Chinese present to the remote past. We learn the causes of the tremendous pressure of population which has turned the country into a vast kitchen garden. We are able to explain the utter lack of public spirit, the cruel individualism to which charity and sympathy are unknown. Above all other things, we learn the difficulty of regenerating China, and we learn, on the other hand, the strength of China when once regenerated. I am disposed to go even farther than qualified praise would permit, and echo the comment of the critic which says of this book: "There is all the difference between an intaglio in onyx and a pencil scrawl on paper to be discovered between Mr. Smith's book and the printed prattle of the average globe-trotter. Our author's work has been done, as it were, with a chisel and an emery wheel. He goes deeply beneath the surface." "Village Life in China" cannot be too highly recommended. The answer to the "Chinese Question" lies behind its pages.

Mr. Colquhoun's "Overland to China" gives us a look at the Empire from another point of view. Miss Scidmore pictures all that the experienced tourist can discover; Dr. Smith furnishes data for the sociologist and student of racial traits; Mr. Colquhoun writes for the man of affairs, both public and commercial. The title is really not altogether appropriate. It might well have been named "The Russian Bear in the Orient with Pointers to the British Lion." The first half of the book is descriptive of Siberia and the Siberian railway. Mr. Colquhoun is convinced that Russia is destined to absorb the Chinese Empire, and apparently believes that it will succeed in its purpose without any great cost to itself and with only feeble protest on the part of the rest of the world. "While the sentimentalists in

Britain and the United States," the author says, "have scarcely dried their tears of Christian joy over Russia's magnanimous and self-imposed mission of peace maker to the world, Russia's statesmen are busy on the task of stirring up a world-wide coalition against England, the tyrant." In the other half of his book the author describes the people and resources of Manchuria, Eastern Mongolia, the Yang tsze Valley, Southwest China, and Tong King. The hostility to foreigners, Mr. Colquhoun attributes to the policy of the Manchus. They themselves are foreigners, and yet are the rulers of the people. It would appear that the real Chinaman hates a Manchu quite as much as he does a European, and the Manchu himself has no real love for a Chinaman. Furthermore, the Manchus, being fearful of results should western civilization get a foothold in China, have deliberately sought to prejudice the people against the western world, and so have indirectly stimulated a passion which may result finally in their own overthrow, for to the Chinaman all outsiders are foreign devils. It will surprise many Americans to learn that in Mr. Colquhoun's opinion the United States occupies a much better position in China than Great Britain. Lombard street may furnish the money for Chinese railways, but the profits of construction and operation are going to New York. He criticises severely Great Britain's abandonment of the initiative in China, and her failure to get definite concessions and treaty rights, in place of vague spheres of influence to be maintained only by force. The reader will find this book and "China in Transformation," by the same author, an enlightening introduction to the political and economic phases of the Eastern question.

JOS. FRENCH JOHNSON.

University of Pennsylvania.

Exercises in Economics. By W. G. LANGWORTHY TAYLOR. Pp. 120. Lincoln, Nebraska: The University Publishing Co., 1900.

The injunction on the title page, "Write Your Own Political Economy," indicates the purpose of the work. The book is not intended to be placed in the hands of students; it is to be used by the teacher to aid him in leading each student to develop the subject for himself. After each chapter are several essay topics to be assigned to students and a list of suggestive questions which appeal to the student's experience. A list of standard reference books is given with each topic, but the author advises that "it is better in all cases of doubt, that recourse to text writers be discouraged, and that only in exceptional cases of strong and advanced minds in whom the critical faculty has some development such reference be permitted." The method is

essentially one of self-instruction. The author believes that its chief merit will lie in the fact that students may be discouraged from making final conclusions, and that they may see that they are just beginning "the study of a large and ever-widening subject." The work is intended for colleges, high schools and independent students.

In the introduction the author traces the development of Economic Science, and shows its relations to other branches of knowledge, particularly history. He shows that at present there is a strong demand for economic instruction, and from the point of view of "maturity and completeness," economics does not need to give way to other sciences. The problem of most importance is considered to be the method of instruction. Professor Taylor does not believe that economics as presented by Mill and other standard writers can be taught successfully to students below college juniors, unless the teacher is well trained in economics. The greatest harm, however, which the author sees in the use of such books as Mill's, comes from the giving of fixed conclusions. The author's method therefore not only aims to make the subject more intelligible, but to prevent fixed conclusions. This is done by teaching the subject inductively. The student's experience and his observations, to which he is stimulated by suggestive questions, should furnish the body of knowledge which is to constitute his Political Economy. In the creation of an investigative spirit, lies the great value of the method.

The author appreciates the danger of economic instruction given by teachers unfamiliar with the subject. To such teachers he recommends as a substitute in the high schools, economic history. In such cases he thinks it may be taught as a preparation for the study of political economy in the university, and as a good substitute for political economy for students who will never go to the university.

With respect to points of view, the book is divided in two parts. In the first, the public point of view is treated negatively, while the positive interests are those of persons and classes. In the second part, the public point of view is considered positively in the treatment of general prosperity. The following subjects are considered in the first part: Fluctuating Prices, Steady Prices, Profits, Wages and Speculation; in the second part, are discussed Industry, Industrial Centres, Luxury, and Capital.

In discussing wages, the author divides producers into (1) those identified with changes which increase production, and (2) the followers of antiquated methods. While the income which goes to the non-progressive classes is not so passive as rent, it is more passive than profits, because it corresponds more nearly to animal than to psychic activities. Laborers calculate somewhat in shifting their

employments and in moving from place to place. Professor Taylor thinks that the development of capitalistic industry tends to give the wage-earner greater freedom by decreasing the rigor of specialization. The demand is growing more and more in favor of "trustworthiness" as against skill. Then, too, education makes the laborer more flexible.

The chapter on speculation is a discussion of the legitimacy of risk. The author argues that an institution must be judged from the time point of view. What is normal is right, but what is abnormal is not necessarily bad, because the abnormal in one epoch often becomes the normal in the succeeding epoch. All classes of business are on a speculative basis, and so the "test of legitimacy is not uncertainty but robbery." Speculation at the expense of others is illegitimate. As markets become larger, market prices become more important, the rates of wages and profits tend to become more uniform, and speculation becomes a less dominant factor. In the chapter on industry, the author continues his investigation into the legitimacy of economic methods based upon the facts which economic history reveals. When the serious business of life was war and economic conditions were subordinate to the political, kings and princes were identified with great economic projects. After the transition from a warrior to an industrial state, the old methods were still applied. Piracy went hand in hand with commerce, and kings contributed to buccaneering industry. These methods were then legitimate. Great risks were involved in nearly all investments. State interference was the best means of aiding enterprise, and consequently companies were formed with duties and privileges definitely defined, and monopoly of trade and enterprise prevailed almost everywhere. Modern industrial processes and inventions made possible quicker communication, wider markets, and a greater variety of products, while opportunities for the development of individual initiative were given which led to the freedom of industry from state interference. Decrease in business risks has accompanied a decline in state interference, and wide speculation and chartered trading companies have disappeared.

The psychical nature of Economic Science is well illustrated by showing why countries in the temperate zones are richer than tropical countries. The statement frequently made that anything is wealth "which saves to men trouble, exertion and fatigue" needs to be qualified. *Appreciation* is an essential condition. The gratuitous satisfaction of wants has no influence in stimulating effort to supply other wants. Man does not become richer unless he applies the effort saved to supplying other wants.

The dominant feature of the book is the method of instruction which it presents. While a number of works have been written

recently with the purpose of placing the teaching of economics on an inductive basis, none have gone so far in this direction as "Exercises in Economics." Professor Taylor has doubtless outlined the course of development which must take place in the teaching of economics not only in the secondary schools, but also in the more elementary classes in the university. Nor is there any reason why a science like economics, the facts of which are within the experience of every one, cannot be taught inductively. While the subject-matter of the book is subsidiary to the method, the contents of the book shows that the author is fully in sympathy with the latest development in economic theory. He believes that economics is fundamental to other social sciences; its relation to other branches of knowledge should therefore be definitely shown. The book is full of helpful suggestions both in theory and in method.

J. E. HAGERTY.

Philadelphia.

Lohnpolitik und Lohntheorie, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Minimallohnes. By DR. OTTO VON ZWIEDENECK-SÜDENHORST. Pp. xiv, 410. Price, 9 mk. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900.

Problems in distribution are receiving special attention from economists to-day, and the interest therein in Germany is as strong as it is in this country. The book under review is a typical German monograph, which traces a single idea, that of wage regulation, through history and theory. It is, however, a plea rather than a mere presentation. About half the book is devoted to a discussion and criticism of the various wage theories, while the remainder is equally divided between a description of the practical attempts at wage regulation in various countries and a plea for further state action. The author begins by defining his position briefly. Wages are not determined by the law of supply and demand, which at most can explain only the fluctuations, nor by the cost of living, but by custom. It would seem from this that Dr. Zwiedeneck-Südenhorst has in mind German conditions, and especially those which characterize agricultural communities. Yet he draws all his facts and illustrations from the cities, and largely from English practice, and expressly rules agricultural wages out of the discussion.

The development of governmental policies is next traced in outline from the Diocletian Edict of 301. During the period of the "*geschlossene Hauswirtschaft*," when production was confined to the home, there was no wage, and hence no necessity for regulating wages. With the growing independence of industrial labor came

conflicts of interests, and with these the regulation of prices and wages by positive enactment. The peculiar characteristic of all the early ordinances lay in establishing a maximum limit beyond which wages might not go. Such a policy prevailed until well into the eighteenth century. Not until then was the right of the individual to a worthy existence emphasized or were the workers aroused to a consciousness of their rights. It was reserved to the nineteenth century, however, to see the interests of the working classes fully recognized and conserved.

The movement, thus briefly outlined, is traced in detail in the industrial history of Germany and England, for which latter the author has depended largely on Ashley, Cunningham and Webb. He then takes up in turn the various wage theories, and inquires into their teaching in reference to wage regulation. This is found to differ considerably in the individualistic, the catholic-social, the socialistic, and the ethico-social schools, into which he groups the various writers. Under the last he considers von Thünen and Rodbertus, the latter's views, with their insistence on ideal justice and recognition of the solidarity of the interests of society and of the working classes, meeting with the author's warm approval. But through all the theories there runs a common note—the recognition of the ethical justness of the wage-earners' claims. In this theoretical part of the essay the characterization of the catholic writers and their attitude toward the wage question is the best and the most original portion of the book.

After a detailed account of the actual development and status of wage policy in England, especially the methods of the trades unions, and a shorter description of the regulations in other countries—two pages being given to the United States—the author turns to a consideration of the best methods of state regulation of wages. He first establishes the need of such regulation by a series of arguments which we may reduce to the following somewhat elliptical syllogism: Freedom of contract is at the basis of our present system of distribution; wages as they exist to-day are undoubtedly too low; therefore, this method must be corrected and a living wage secured for the workingman by means of state interference. The only really vital question is, how can this best be done.

Such methods as profit-sharing, a sliding scale, etc., are dismissed by the author as insufficient and of limited application only. In general a larger share in industry may be secured to the worker either through the intervention of the state, by direct employment or by law; or, without such intervention, through the collective bargaining of the two parties, or less frequently through the voluntary recognition of the laborers' claims by the employer. If possible, wages should be

fixed by means of collective bargaining, but a bargain so made should be enforced by law. When this method is not followed then a minimum wage should be adopted, which may be based on a fair prevailing rate or the rate recognized by the trades unions. Such a minimum need not be uniform for a large district, indeed should not be, but should recognize geographical and other differences. The objections to such a system are finally noted, but dismissed as irrelevant or insufficient.

Probably Dr. Zwiedeneck-Südenhorst has made out as strong a case as is possible for his position, but many readers will be inclined to deny his premises, and many more his conclusions. Where his arguments are drawn from history, the feeling is strong that he has so interpreted the facts as to substantiate his theory. In the main, however, the basis of the claim is ethical; the *right* of the laborer to a larger share in the social income is assumed almost without argument, and the greater part of the book is devoted to the question how this may be secured for him. The reliance upon legislation to secure the desired end is doubtless characteristic of the German attitude toward social and industrial questions, but does not commend itself in the same degree to American students. Then, too, however pessimistic one may be with regard to our economic history in the past, certain recent tendencies may justify us in being somewhat more optimistic with regard to the future. The increasing resort to "collective bargaining," even on a national scale (as in the metal trades) and a growing feeling of responsibility on the part of the employers (evidenced even in the recent coal strike), seem to indicate that a resort to such drastic measures as Dr. Zwiedeneck-Südenhorst proposes is as needless as undesirable. The book is valuable, however, as being the fairest and most complete presentation of this question which we have had.

ERNEST L. BOGART.

Oberlin College.

NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

AMERICAN CITIES.

Brooklyn.—Amalgamation.¹ The experience of Brooklyn with amalgamation has, in the main, been satisfactory. The community insisted on uniformity of assessments and taxation throughout the consolidated city, before it would consent to surrender its autonomy. A provision was accordingly put in the charter of the enlarged city, requiring that there should be a uniform rate of taxation throughout the new municipality. The tax laws already provided that all assessments throughout the state should be made on a uniform basis, but the charter gave to the people here a remedy for unequal assessments, in that it permitted them to seek a review of the proceedings of the assessors in the courts. Lower tax bills were promised to dwellers in Brooklyn and the bills have been lower there, while in Manhattan and the Bronx, or in the old city of New York they have been higher. The equalization of assessments involved a raising of Manhattan valuations, and the levying of the tax uniformly on the whole city distributed the burden of taxation more equitably than had been possible when the old city of New York profited exclusively by the taxes on the great wealth concentrated on Manhattan Island. In spite of the fact that the cost of government in the consolidated city is larger than the total cost of government in the independent municipalities composing it, Brooklyn has to pay less for government than when she was independent.

But aside from taxation the experiment of consolidation has not been immediately successful for Brooklyn. What it will be in the future it is useless to prophesy. The local interests of the borough have suffered. No plans for new school houses have been made, and few, if any, sites for new buildings have been bought. Some school-buildings that were planned or begun before consolidation have been completed, but the new officials have either not planned any new work or have not succeeded in getting money appropriated for doing that which they have planned. The same conditions prevail in the street department, in the department of sewers and in the water department. Practically all improvements have been at a standstill. This situation has been produced partly by the practical and unavoidable difficulties in the way of fitting the new government to the

¹ Contributed by F. H. Gunnison, Esq.

enlarged city, and partly by the complicated machinery provided for the doing of business. The charter methods are so cumbersome that it takes a long time to accomplish anything, and emergency work has had to be abandoned almost entirely, for it is so long before it can be done that by the time the proper authority to do it has been secured, the emergency has passed.

Everyone admits that some change should be made in the charter, looking to the removal of these defects. There are two parties of charter revisionists, one party holding that reform can be secured best by the concentration of power in the heads of the various departments of the city government and in the practical destruction of what independence the boroughs now have. The other party demands decentralization and an increase in the autonomy of the boroughs. Indeed, there are some people who advocate that the boroughs should raise within their own boundaries the money which is spent there, and spend it to suit themselves. This means, of course, the practical repeal of consolidation. It is not known just what will be done, but a commission appointed by Governor Roosevelt to consider the subject is at work on a revision of the charter. It will make its report to the legislature, which meets in January. It is not probable that the report will be published until the legislature sees it. The fate of the recommendations of the commission, whatever they may be, will depend largely upon the exigencies of politics, which cannot be foreseen at this time.

St. Louis.—*Amalgamation.*¹ The city of St. Louis, with a need of at least ten million dollars for public improvements, finds itself facing a deficit estimated at a million dollars. The municipality has already contracted a bonded debt up to the constitutional limit, and has levied the maximum revenue rate, which is double what it is in the state at large. No apparent source of immediate relief is therefore open to it. This grave condition of affairs may be said to be largely due to injudicious amalgamation. The present scheme and charter, adopted in 1876, was planned apparently in contemplation of a compact population. Such is the inference that must be drawn from the limits which were placed upon the rate of taxation and upon the ability of the city to contract indebtedness. At the same time, however, the limits of the city were extended so as to include practically the whole of the suburban population on the west side of the Mississippi, while the county organization within the territorial limits of the city was abolished and the burden of maintaining what are properly county institutions was thrown upon the municipality without the possibility of levying a corresponding county tax.

¹ Contributed by Professor R. F. Hoxie, St. Louis.

While the outlying urban units were unimportant in size and wealth the grave possibilities of this wholesale amalgamation without adequate charter modifications did not at once develop so as to attract serious attention. Of late, however, owing to improvements in rapid transit and as a result of the change of St. Louis from an essentially river town to a railroad centre, the suburbs, especially to the west which were widely separated from the old city, have grown with remarkable rapidity. The resulting increased demands for water mains and sewers, for paving, lighting and police protection, have been altogether out of proportion to the increase of taxable wealth. This would have been true had the growth of the outlying districts been due altogether to additions to the population of the city, but the proportion of expense to taxable wealth has been greatly increased by the fact that this suburban growth has been, to a large extent, due to migration of wealthy residents. This has left a middle zone, in which public improvements have already been made and which requires adequate lighting and police protection, with decreased taxable value. The remedy for the existing state of affairs seems to be in a reorganization of the present charter or the adoption of a new charter which shall recognize the needs of a widely scattered municipal population. No increase in the tax rate which may be legally levied will suffice, since a great part of the need is for immediate improvements of a relatively permanent character. The ability to increase the bonded indebtedness for these improvements seems to be a prime necessity in order that the burden may fall to a great extent on those who will benefit from the improvements in the future. The situation is calling forth much discussion locally, owing to the special urgency of city needs in view of the proposed world's fair in 1903.

Civil Service, 1899-1900.¹—In New York State, where the civil service rules apply to each of the forty-five cities many improvements have been brought about through the operation of the law, enacted April 14, 1899. During the period from that date to the following Autumn the New York City rules were amended to conform to the new system. The amendments consisted, for the most part, in reductions in the numbers of positions exempt from examination, and in changes designed to do away with opportunities for evasions. The new rules were promulgated by the state board, acting after Mayor Van Wyck's failure to act, on July 11, 1899. Although a great advance on the rules they superseded, they have since been further amended in many important respects, and now present a far more substantial barrier to the use of city patronage for the benefit of Tammany Hall than Tammany has ever had to confront

¹ Contributed by Hon. C. R. Woodruff, Philadelphia.

before. The Civil Service Reform Association has won a number of important suits, designed to test disputed points in the new system.

The State Civil Service Commission, which has enlarged powers under the new act, including an effective supervision of the operation of the rules in cities, has recently appointed an inspector to visit the various cities periodically and report on existing conditions. This officer has already discovered a bad state of affairs in the city of Syracuse, and a formal investigation, resulting in the displacement of the local commission followed. With the exception of a few of the small cities, however, all others seem to be obeying the law in a satisfactory manner.

Massachusetts.—Several bills were introduced at the last session of the legislature designed to weaken the system in cities, especially in Boston; but all were either defeated or vetoed by the governor.

Chicago.—The backward tendency of civil service reform in Chicago has been arrested by the reorganization of the city commission and the appointment of Colonel John W. Ela, late president of the Chicago Civil Service Reform League, as a member. Since Colonel Ela's installation many improvements have been effected, particularly with regard to the system of promotions. The situation has been much improved, moreover, by a decision of the Supreme Court of Cook County, by which several injurious rulings of the old commission were set aside, and as the results of which the letter of the law must, in future, be adhered to strictly.

Baltimore.—Civil service rules have been introduced in the fire and police departments of Baltimore, in the one case under authority given by the new charter, and in the other under a special act. Competent boards of examiners have been appointed for each. The usefulness of the rules for the police department is somewhat marred, however, by a construction of the corporation counsel, based on an error in the language of the act, to the effect that appointments may be made from any part of the eligible lists. This construction, it is understood, will be disputed by the Baltimore Reform League and the local Civil Service Reform Association.

New Orleans.—The system in New Orleans established by the present charter, has been virtually destroyed by an act passed by the last legislature. The Civil Service Reform League, organized during the legislative campaign, will be continued. Under its auspices, the constitutionality of the modifying act is being tested in the courts.

San Francisco.—The civil service system was established in San Francisco, on January 1, 1900, when the new charter went into operation. It applies practically to all departments, is modeled on the best features of the systems in force in other cities, and is adminis-

tered by a commission composed of known friends of the merit system, appointed by a well-disposed mayor. It may be recalled that the election through which the charter was adopted by popular vote turned principally on the issue of civil service reform.

Columbus.—Rules have been established for Columbus, under an act of the Ohio Legislature, requiring their application to the departments of public safety and public improvements, in "cities of the first grade of the second class," and *permitting* their extension, on authorization of the common council, to all other departments and officers of such cities. The commission appointed for Columbus has drafted and promulgated an excellent set of rules and secured authority for their extension, practically, to the entire city service.

*Chicago.—Drainage Canal Litigation.*¹ An event of tremendous significance to Chicago was the opening of its great drainage canal on January 17, 1900. Lake Michigan is now joined to the Gulf, and the flow of its pure waters, passing through the new canal and into the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, receives and carries off the immense mass of Chicago sewage. As had been anticipated, the opening of the canal gave rise to litigation, which, if not of serious import to the future of the canal, is of great general interest.

The most important case is that of the State of Missouri, complainant, *vs.* State of Illinois and Sanitary District of Chicago, defendants. This is an original proceeding, instituted in the Supreme Court of the United States, to enjoin the drainage trustees from allowing the sewage of Chicago to be discharged into the canal. The case raises two important questions, one of constitutional law, and one of sanitation. The constitutional question is as to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to entertain the case. The complainant asserts original jurisdiction in that court under Section 2, Article 3, of the federal constitution creating such jurisdiction in cases "in which a State shall be a party," amended subsequently by provision that such jurisdiction shall not extend "to any suit, in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state."

It is averred in the complaint that the canal was built by the Sanitary District of Chicago as one of the "governmental agencies of the State of Illinois," and under the direction and control of that state; that the flow of the channel will cause direct and immediate injury to the State of Missouri; that the 1,500 tons of filth and sewage cast daily into the canal at Chicago will poison and pollute the waters of the Mississippi and render them unhealthful and unfit "for drinking

¹ Contributed by M. F. Gallagher, Esq., Chicago, Ill.

purposes and all other domestic and manufacturing and agricultural purposes," and destroy the value of water works created at great expense by various municipalities along the river.

Defendants deny jurisdiction in the Supreme Court because the bill does not set forth "within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, any controversy between the State of Missouri and State of Illinois." The contention is that any controversy that exists is between the State of Illinois and a public corporation created by it and certain cities and towns of Missouri and certain citizens of that state residing on or near the banks of the Mississippi River. It is argued that the State of Missouri has merely lent its name to the case of the city of St. Louis, and that the suit in no wise affects the property rights of the state itself.

The issue thus raised is, of course, of great legal import, and will require a construction of the pertinent provisions of the federal constitution.

The other question of especial interest to students of sanitation is largely a problem in chemistry and bacteriology. The drainage trustees assert in their answer to the complaint that the sewage discharged into the canal will have entirely lost its noxious matter before the flow reaches the Mississippi and that it will in no wise poison or pollute that stream. They go a step farther and say that "the turning into the DesPlaines River of the sewage of the sanitary district of Chicago, together with the 300,000 cubic feet per minute of the pure water of Lake Michigan, which will accompany the same, will greatly improve the quality of the waters of the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers."

It is also insisted that the State of Missouri is estopped from complaining of the canal because, while it was in process of construction for over eleven years, no objection was raised.

The Supreme Court has ordered the case for oral argument at the October term, but no date has been set for it.

Civil Service Reform. New rules adopted by the the Civil Service Commission clearly outline the method of promoting employees within the classified service. Henceforth the higher grades of work are, so far as possible, to be strictly confined to employees promoted from inferior positions, to the end that a permanent trained force of municipal servants may be developed. The rules provide that promotions shall be governed by ascertained merit and seniority of service and made after competitive examinations which shall be held whenever the next lower grade of service shall be constituted of at least two persons eligible to promotion, and competition "shall be limited to the members of such next lower rank or grade."

If, in the immediately inferior division of service, there are not two

men wanting to take the examination for promotion, then the usual original entrance test will be had. However, if after sixty days from the general examination, a requisition to fill a vacancy is received and there are then persons in the next inferior position competent to take the examination for promotion, such examination will be held for their benefit and the employee qualified for the vacant position shall be certified for promotion. In all examinations due weight shall be given to length of previous service and office efficiency. The commission, when deemed best, may appoint boards of promotion to conduct the examinations and mark the papers.

Census. The population of the city of Chicago, shown by the new census, is 1,698,575. The increase since 1890 is 598,725, a percentage of 54.44. The published returns of thirty cities having a population in excess of 100,000 rank Chicago third in percentage of increase, Indianapolis, Indiana, and Toledo, Ohio, surpassing it in this respect. The present area of the city of Chicago is 190.64 square miles. The death rate given for 1899 was 15.00.

Cleveland.¹—The purpose of the Reorganization Act of 1892 was to extend to the school government of Cleveland the spirit and methods of the "federal plan," that for two years had prevailed in the municipal government of the city. It vests legislative power in a council of seven members, elected at large, whilst executive power is lodged in a school director, chosen for a term of two years, by the qualified electors of the district. In order to keep the schools out of politics, which was one of the avowed objects of the act, the business and educational departments of the schools were separated as widely as possible, the only connection being such as is provided in the following language:

Sec. 10. "The school director shall, subject to the approval of and confirmation by the council, appoint a superintendent of instruction, who shall remain in office during good behavior, and the school director may at any time, for sufficient cause, remove him; but the order for such removal shall be in writing, specifying the cause therefor, and shall be entered upon the records of his office; and he shall forthwith report the same to the council, together with the reason therefor." The appointment and discharge of all assistants and teachers authorized to be employed by the council rests with the superintendent alone.

Recent events have subjected this law to a severe strain. During the eight years of the operation of the law from April, 1892, to April, 1900, there had been but one incumbent in the office of director, Mr. H. Q. Sargent having four times in succession been chosen to the position. In the Republican primaries of this year Mr. Sargent, who was

¹ Communication of Professor W. J. Truesdale, East High School, Cleveland, O.

again a candidate, was defeated by Thomas H. Bell, who had been a member of the school council. During the campaign it became generally understood that Mr. Bell, if elected, would seek to remove from the superintendency Mr. L. H. Jones, who had served in that capacity since 1894 and who, during these six years, had maintained the high excellence of the Cleveland schools and had himself become recognized as one of the most successful and progressive superintendents in the country. Mr. Bell's opposition to Mr. Jones apparently did not reflect the sentiment of any considerable number, even Mr. Bell himself deeming it necessary, in view of the storm of protests called forth by the fear, that if elected, he would remove Mr. Jones, to issue a card, which, while somewhat equivocal in statement, was understood, as it must have been intended it should be, as a pledge that Mr. Jones would be retained. Mr. Bell was elected and took office in April.

On Monday, July 2, the early editions of the afternoon papers contained a copy of a letter which the superintendent had that morning received from the Director, informing him that he was removed from his position on the grounds of "incompetency, inefficiency, neglect of duty and misconduct." At the same time a communication containing more detailed charges had been sent to the president of the school council, which body was to have a regular meeting that evening, but the superintendent was not furnished with a copy of these specifications. It was further reported that Professor Addison B. Poland, superintendent of schools in Paterson, N. J., was to be Mr. Jones' successor and that his confirmation would be sought at the approaching meeting of the council. The director supposed that he had thus complied with every requirement of the law and that Mr. Jones had ceased to be superintendent at the moment of receiving his letter of removal. He regarded the notice of his action which the law required him to send the council as a mere formal announcement of an accomplished fact. The friends of Mr. Jones immediately set to work to find some means of preventing this summary ousting of the superintendent. They accomplished two things; first, several members of the council were prevailed upon to absent themselves from the meeting, so that in the absence of a quorum, no action could be taken upon the nomination of Mr. Poland; secondly, an injunction was secured temporarily restraining the director from removing Mr. Jones, and ordering him to accord Mr. Jones a hearing on the charges preferred.

On the following day the Director sought the legal advice of the corporation counsel, whose duty it is to act as legal adviser and representative of the school officials. The unofficial opinion of the law department had been made public in a communication from the first

assistant corporation counsel, which appeared in the morning papers of Tuesday. This opinion was based upon a decision of the Ohio Supreme Court (58 Ohio State Reports, p. 504) upon the question of the power of removal from office by a mayor. In the decision referred to it is held that the mayor's power of removal "cannot be exercised arbitrarily but only upon complaint and after a hearing had in which the officer is afforded opportunity to refute the case made against him. Nor has the mayor in such case authority to proceed to the hearing until charges have been preferred which embody facts that in judgment of law constitute neglect of duty or misconduct in office and of which the accused has had due notice." The opinion concluded, therefore, that the school director had acted contrary to law, for whether he had "sufficient cause" for the removal of the superintendent could only be determined after he had notified the superintendent of the special charges made against him and given him an opportunity to make his defence. It was a matter of no surprise when the corporation counsel, called upon by the school director to assume his defence in the injunction proceedings, practically refused to do so, pronouncing the director's position untenable. The Director not yet willing to admit defeat, next sought the advice of a private lawyer, but the best this lawyer could do for him was to discover a technical flaw in the petition for the injunction. Convinced at last that he had erred, and probably somewhat influenced by the severe condemnation of his course expressed by the entire respectable press of the city, including the morning Republican that had advocated his election, the Director, on July 6, sent a second letter to Mr. Jones "revoking, cancelling and annulling" his order of removal. At the same time the charges which had been sent to the school council were withdrawn and the injunction proceedings were therefore dropped. Since that time no further steps have been taken against the superintendent.

National Municipal League.—At the Milwaukee meeting of the National Municipal League, held in September last, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the chairman of the Executive Committee be authorized and empowered to appoint a committee, which may include members not members of the League, to ascertain the extent to which instruction in municipal government and its betterment is offered by American institutions of learning; and further

Resolved, That this committee, when appointed, shall have authority to bring to the attention of college authorities the necessity of offering more extended instruction in these subjects.

In pursuance of the power vested in him, Charles J. Bonaparte, Esq., chairman of the Executive Committee, has appointed the following committee to carry out the foregoing resolution:

Professor John H. Finley, Princeton University; Dr. William H. Allen, University of Pennsylvania; Dr. William F. McDowell, secretary, Methodist Board of Education, New York City; Professor Charles Zeublin, University of Chicago; President Thomas M. Drown, Lehigh University; Dr. Robert C. Brooks, Cornell University; Professor E. L. Bogart, Oberlin College; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Secretary, National Municipal League.

Municipal Code Commission of Iowa.¹—The municipal code commission of Iowa is a direct result of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Baker vs. the Village of Norwood*.² The holding of the court is to the effect that special assessments for public improvements must be in proportion to the benefits conferred upon the property thereby and not in excess of them. Many able lawyers throughout the state held that this did not invalidate the special assessment laws, in that provision was made for a hearing before the city councils and an appeal from their decision to the courts, which were empowered to make proper assessments. None of the municipalities, however, had sufficient confidence to assume the cost of a test case, and public improvements were brought to a standstill. The effect upon street paving was particularly noticeable. The plan of assessing abutting property so much per front foot to pay the cost of the improvement was so clearly contrary to the ruling of the court, that paving entirely ceased. Under these conditions the cities were a unit in demanding of the General Assembly the passage of some measure that would enable them to continue their improvements. The importance of the subject, however, and the difficulties involved in revising all the special assessment laws during one brief session of the assembly, were so great, that it was thought best to enact a temporary measure and appoint a joint commission to recodify the municipal laws.

The act³ creating the commission provides that it shall consist of six members, three from the senate and house respectively, appointed by the presiding officers of those bodies. This commission is "carefully to revise and codify all the special assessment laws, and such other laws in relation to the government of municipal corporations, as may be by the committee deemed necessary and expedient, and recommend such changes therein as may be desirable." The terms of the law are so sweeping that it is probable that the committee will not content itself with the revision of the special assessment laws alone, but will go over the whole subject of municipal government, and,

¹ Communication of Professor W. R. Patterson, University of Iowa.

² "Federal Reporter," vol. 74.

³ Laws of 26 G. A., chap. 176.

among other desirable reforms, seriously consider a uniform system of accounting.

The law¹ under which assessments will be made until the meeting of the next assembly, when the report of the commission is due, provides that such assessments shall be in proportion to the special benefits conferred upon the property thereby, and not in excess. The amount assessed not to exceed 25 per cent of the actual value of the property at the time of the levy, as shown by the preceding assessment roll.

Duluth² has had her fair share of maladministration, a natural consequence of new environment and rapid growth. Occasional spurts of reform have been followed by longer periods of relaxed vigil and loose methods. The local civic spirit has, however, grown apace. To-day all our political parties are declaring in their local platforms in favor of the principle of municipal ownership of public utilities. These declarations are not all of them either enthusiastic or honest. But the average politician, even though he be the henchman of some special interest, hardly cares or dares to run riot with public sentiment. He therefore falls into line or, at least, appears to do so.

After a bitter struggle with selfishness and corruption, extending over a period of years, Duluth finally acquired the ownership and control of its water and gas supply. The plant of the private company was purchased for \$1,250,000, less by almost one million dollars than the price at which it was originally attempted to unload it upon the city, but still more by almost \$500,000, according to some authorities, than its actual value. A supplementary water system built by the city, guaranteeing a pure water supply, with a new and adequate pumping station, an intake about ten miles from the heart of the city, a reservoir and miles of force main to make connection with the old system, together with necessary repairs and outlay on the old system, involved an additional expenditure of over \$1,100,000. The total investment to date is, therefore, \$2,350,000.

Duluth has been most fortunate in two prerequisites to success along the lines in question. The first is that the control and management of the water and gas plants have been vested in a non-partisan board of public-spirited business men, who serve without compensation; the second, that this board had the good judgment and good fortune to secure the services of an active manager, who, as superintendent for many years of the Detroit (Michigan) water works, established a national reputation for competency and probity.

Notwithstanding that the price of water by meter was reduced from five cents to four cents per hundred gallons and the price of gas for

¹ Laws 28 G. A., chap. 29.

² Contributed by W. G. Joerns, Duluth, Minnesota.

illumination from two dollars to one dollar and a half, per thousand cubic feet, there is a net profit on the first year's business of \$15,681.86. The total earnings were \$176,469.37; the expenses for operation and maintenance, including repairs, \$49,587.51, leaving a surplus of \$126,881.86. The above profit remained after paying interest on bonds, \$111,200. The effect of the reduction in the price of gas upon the total output is indicated by the following :

Gas made from January 1 to July 1, 1899, 13,522,000 feet.

Gas made from January 1 to July 1, 1900, 17,939,402 feet.

Gas sold from January 1 to July 1, 1899, 10,470,370 feet.

Gas sold from January 1 to July 1, 1900, 14,276,000 feet.

Receipts from January 1 to July 1, 1899 . . . \$15,470.20.

Receipts from January 1 to July 1, 1900 . . . \$20,177.67.

The citizens of Duluth have likewise voted for a bond issue of \$110,000 for the erection of a public electric lighting plant. A new charter has also been adopted, similar to those of Minneapolis and St. Paul. The question whether this charter has been legally adopted is now pending before the State Supreme Court. The city after asking for competitive proposals also granted a franchise to a new telephone company, an active competitor of the Bell Company, with greatly reduced maximum rates and with the privilege of purchase by the municipality at the end of stated five year periods. The new plant is now in active, satisfactory and successful operation. The old company also remains in operation, though its franchise has expired. Before the new telephone system, or in fact, any further public utilities can be acquired by the city, additional legislative action will probably be necessary, as a refunding measure passed since the last session of the legislature in the interests of Duluth contains a provision that is evidently intended to tie the hands of the municipality in the direction named. This provision was injected into the original draft prepared by the city authorities against their protest and that of many other public-spirited citizens.

II. THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY.

The Fourth Congress of the International Institute of Sociology met in Paris from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-seventh of September, inclusive. The society was organized in July, 1893, and since then sessions have been held in 1894, 1895, 1897 and 1900. All of the sessions of the Fourth Institute were held in the chemical amphitheatre of the Sorbonne.

De Greef, rector of the New University, of Brussels, is president of the Institute, but owing to illness he was unable to be present. J. Novicow, the oldest of the vice-presidents, was chosen by the unanimous vote of those present to preside. The members present were: Novicow, Kovalewsky, René Worms, Rodberty, Tarans, Lester F. Ward and Émile Worms. Besides these, many associate members were present.

The first session opened with the address of the president, J. Novicow, which was responded to by René Worms, the general secretary. Kovalewsky read a paper on the "Clan," which was discussed by Raoul. Two sessions were held on each of the following days: the 25th, 26th and 27th. Those of the 25th and 27th were presided over by the president, while the first session of the 26th was presided over by Kovalewsky, and the second by Lester F. Ward.

At the first session of the twenty-sixth, Lester F. Ward read a paper on "Social Mechanics," which provoked considerable discussion. At other sessions, papers were read by Rodberty on "Premises of Contemporaneous Sociology," by Albert Joffe, on "Industrial Associations," and on the "Peaceful Solution of Strikes." A very important place was given to the discussion of "Historical Materialism." Not less than three full sessions were devoted to it, and most of the members of the congress participated in the discussion of the subject.

Before adjournment the Institute received an invitation from the International Association for the Advancement of Science, to attend its session to be held in Glasgow, in 1901.

The Origin of Punishment.—Dr. Westermarck has contributed an excellent article on the "Origin of Punishment," to the October and November numbers of the "*Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*." He states that it is a generally accepted view that punishment as an institution of society is of comparatively recent origin, and may be traced to the custom of individual and family revenge. He finds this view contradicted by relations which exist in nearly every tribe. He claims that punishment, from the point of view of society, is exercised by every tribe. We have no knowledge of a people with some

customs, the observance of which is not compulsory and the transgression of which is not visited with punishment.

Revenge is not the parent of punishment. They are both offsprings of animosity. The satisfaction of revenge proceeds from the desire to avenge the injuring party or his representative. Punishment has its root in the public disapproval which is aroused by evil-doing. Revenge is a genuine form of animosity, for it is the outpouring of selfish feeling, while public disapproval is caused, sometimes if not always, by the altruistic feeling of sympathy. Revenge is contrasted with wrath. It is the result of reflection, while wrath is not. The latter is also a selfish feeling. It is met with in animal life, and is there serviceable as a means of protection. Instances of feelings of sympathy also are not wanting in animal life.

The members of savage tribes are often bound together by closest ties. In some cases the individuals are closely identified with the group, and participate in group action. If the group is attacked, the individual considers himself attacked and so takes up arms.

The disapproval of the group plays an important rôle in the life of the savage. He respects the rights of others, and he fears the lash of public opinion which is always applied when he transgresses the precious traditions of the tribe. In some tribes the disapproval of public opinion is the severest of punishments. The belief that to the savage is permitted freedom of speech and of conduct is absolutely untrue.

The kinds of punishment employed are various. In some places the crimes are classified and the punishment is then adapted to the crime. Some tribes distinguish between crimes committed against the individual from those committed against the group. In some cases reliance is placed on bodily punishment as a deterrent from evil-doing, while in other cases public opinion plays a very important rôle. Where the right to revenge an injury is recognized the obligation resting upon the avenger is always exacting. There also goes with the avenging of a crime the inflicting of an injury corresponding somewhat to the injury received. However, the experiences of many tribes show that there is often not a close adjustment of the punishment to the offence.

Folksjustiz, as the oldest form of punishment, prevails in many tribes to-day, with the system of private revenge. In old Rome the transition from primitive justice to the organized obligation of punishment followed far earlier than the transition from private revenge to the system of private punishment. Primitive justice is, in a large community, a difficult process, as it is practically in the hands of the leaders. A sort of legal organization is a frequent phenomena with

primitive peoples. Sometimes the chiefs alone consider offences and fix the punishment, and in other tribes they act after a consultation with the old people. The powers of the chiefs vary widely with different tribes. In some cases they are considered as lawgivers and have almost unlimited power, while in other cases their powers are only nominal.

The existence of courts of justice among savage tribes is considered to be peculiar when it is observed how long the custom of revenge persisted among civilized peoples. It is met with to-day in Japan and among the Scots and in Germany it did not disappear until the close of the fifteenth century. Some of the essentials connected with the transition from revenge to punishment explain this phenomenon. The custom of blood revenge persists in accordance with a desire to see the evil-doer suffer. The feeling of sympathy develops when the punishment is greater than the offence should warrant it to be. In this is found a reason for the transition. Punishment presupposes a desire for retribution, and the disapproval of the group is seen when it is not adapted to the offence.

In the system of revenge there is no certainty that the evil-doer will suffer. If the injured are weak they must turn to the ruling authority for aid. The requirements of justice demand that the king should have a right to interfere, and the experience of numerous tribes shows that it was one of the functions of the kings to protect the weak. In other cases the feeling of sympathy works to prevent overpunishment and the state is called in to act as a judge.

Another observation is important in explaining the transition from revenge to punishment. The welfare of the group often demands that the members should live in peace. The substitution of blood money for revenge is suggestive in this connection.

The author thinks that it is very probable that in most cases the legal power of the chiefs developed in the interests of the security of the state. The opportunity which, acting as mediators between parties, gave the chiefs an increase of power also aided in establishing a legal power. The author concludes that the displacement of revenge by punishment is no infallible sign of advancement in culture. A small tribe whose members are closely bound together is disturbed more by dissensions than a large one whose members are not so closely knit together. Hence is seen the greater need for internal peace in the one.

Sociology in Institutions of Learning.—The students of the University of Michigan have an incorporated organization known as the "Good Government Club." It was organized in 1896 and incorporated in 1899. Its aim is to promote inquiry into the ultimate

scientific laws of politics and economics in their application to human welfare and development. In order to interest the largest possible number of students, the method pursued is to arrange for a course of lectures by the most distinguished specialists that can be secured for the several topics discussed, and to charge a fee for a season ticket to this lecture course just sufficient to cover the cost. The lectures are given in one of the college buildings and the speakers and the subjects for the current academic year are the following :

Chaplain J. F. Orwick, of the Michigan State Prison, on "Behind the Bars;" Judge O. N. Carter on "Primary Election Laws;" Booker T. Washington, "Race Problems;" Mayor Jones on "The Golden Rule in Politics;" President Samuel Gompers on "The Rough but Ignoble Struggle of Labor;" Senator Burrows on "The Senate;" President Schurman on "The Philippines;" Professor Richard T. Ely on "An Economic Question." Congressman W. A. Smith and Hon. Don M. Dickinson are also announced as speakers. Any student of the University registering, in a book provided for the purpose, and purchasing a course ticket for these ten lectures is considered a member of the club. About one thousand members have been secured for this season. The club furthermore offers a yearly prize of \$25 for the best essay written by a student member of the club, upon any theme within the general scope of the club's work. Viewed as a student enterprise, such a club is certainly a sign of a good tendency in University life and might well be imitated in other institutions. The name and address of the secretary of the club is Mr. Earl B. Hawks, 1326 Geddes Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Commercial Education in Scotland.—Special attention has been paid to the subject of Commercial Education in England as a result of the increasing competition of German manufactures. The growing importance of German trade is supposed to be a direct result of the attention paid to commercial education in that country. Two important English reports have appeared: (1) Report of the Proceedings at a Conference on Commercial Education held under the auspices of the London Chamber of Commerce, July 8, 1898; (2) Report of Inquiry by a Special Sub-Committee on Commercial Education of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, January 30, 1899. In neither of these reports is any special reference made to the conditions in Scotland. Therefore the Edinburgh Merchant Company, the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, and the Leith Chamber of Commerce appointed a Joint Sub-Committee on Commercial Education, of which Mr. John Macmillan, Master of the Merchant Company, the Merchant's Hall, Edinburgh, was made chairman. This committee made its report on September 27, 1900; a

report which covers with appendices fifty-seven quarto pages.¹ It discusses, with special reference to the centralization of Scottish trade and commerce in Edinburgh, many interesting phases of one of the most debated of current educational questions, namely, How to secure the best type of educated business men. The section relating to the defects of the present educational arrangements is particularly strong. It is noted that the teaching of history, geography and arithmetic is little adapted to the needs of a business career. Too much time is spent on Latin and Greek, and too little on French and German; furthermore, the modern languages are not thoroughly taught or mastered so as to be used with facility in business. The general conclusions of the committee are of more than local interest. They are summarized in the report as follows:

1. That primary education only should be given to pupils under twelve years of age, and that secondary or higher subjects should not be commenced until the pupil has gained the Merit Certificate or passed an equivalent examination. If this method were followed, the committee believe that not only would the pupil be better grounded in a sound English education, but would also be more likely to get the full benefit to be derived from a secondary course.

2. That it is necessary to provide a more modern secondary education that would better appeal to a large proportion of the pupils. It is acknowledged that the study of Latin and Greek is an admirable mental training, and that some acquaintance with Latin is very helpful to the student of English. Much of the study of Latin and Greek, however, has the disadvantage of being altogether divorced from every-day life, and it is only natural that boys should take more interest in the languages and affairs of the world in which they live. The committee have no intention of decrying Classical Education while asserting that the study of English literature; of English and Scottish history; of the geography of the world and especially of the English speaking world; of the elements and principles of science and mathematics—is real education likely to stimulate a boy's highest faculties.

3. That commercial subjects, properly so called, should not be taught at school, but that, as provided for in the Scotch Code with reference to higher-grade commercial schools, "the study of arithmetic, of history and of geography should have a commercial application." The committee consider that the aim of the school course should be to give a sound general education fitting pupils for entering on a commercial career.

4. That the better teaching of modern languages is also a first necessity for the improvement of commercial education. To enable

¹ Sold by John Menzies & Co., 12 Hanover Street, Edinburgh. Price 1s. 3d.

this to be done there is required, to begin with, an admission on the part of educational authorities that a man may be an educated and even a cultured gentleman although he has not seriously studied Latin or Greek; and further, that both France and Germany possess invaluable literatures, with the added advantage that they are in languages which are living and not dead. Three steps seem necessary to stimulate the study of modern languages:

(a) That the universities should show proper respect for modern languages by giving the teachers of French and German the same status as the professors of Latin and Greek; and by assigning the same approximate value to these subjects in examinations.

(b) That students should be induced by bursaries and other means to master modern languages, so that there may be trained for the teaching of French and German, Englishmen and Scotsmen of equal ability and culture to the men who now teach Latin and Greek. The committee are much impressed by the consensus of opinion among the educational authorities who gave evidence, that modern languages can never be properly taught in this country until taught by Englishmen and Scotsmen who have had university training and have resided abroad.

(c) That secondary schools should also dignify the teaching of modern languages by placing them on a level with the dead languages in bursary competitions and in all other respects; and by offering proper remuneration to the teachers of modern languages.

5. That boys should not leave school to enter on business careers until they attain the age of sixteen, those who can afford to do so being encouraged to remain till seventeen or eighteen; and that employers should, as far as possible, require the production of and give due recognition to the Leaving Certificates by the Scotch Education Department as evidence of educational attainments. The committee would suggest that the department be approached with the view of instituting, in connection with school education, group certificates of certain grades, that would come to be universally known and recognized by business men in their selection of apprentices.

6. That it is most necessary that young men should continue their education, after they have begun business, during their leisure hours. In this way the defects of ordinary education may be remedied, and it is during the years of apprenticeship that young men may most profitably study commercial subjects. The committee agree with the witnesses that it is natural for boys at school to take an interest in such subjects as Bills of Lading or Foreign Exchange; but that young men in offices and factories may with advantage study the theories and laws regulating matters with which they are in constant touch in their daily

work. Of course if a young man is to derive benefit from the evening classes at the Heriot-Watt College, or any similar institution, he must have set his heart on his work.

7. That in view of the increased attention being given to strengthening and rendering more efficient the modern side in secondary schools, and of the tertiary schools which exist in large towns, such as the Heriot-Watt College in Edinburgh, the committee are not prepared to recommend the institution of a purely commercial school on the lines of the Continental Commercial Schools at Antwerp, Leipzig, and other places, or of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

8. The committee, while recognizing the good work being done by certain Chambers of Commerce and other mercantile bodies in Scotland, by means of examinations for commercial certificates, are of opinion that such work would be more efficiently accomplished on a uniform system by a National Examining Board. It is accordingly suggested that the proposal be brought before the Scotch Education Department.

9. That to enable commercial education to take its proper place in the educational arrangements of the country and fully to meet the requirements of commerce, it is desirable that Faculties of Commerce should be established in our universities. It is the opinion of the committee that such faculties would have a very beneficial effect in raising the status and importance of the commercial side in the secondary schools, by giving it, like the classical or science side, an opening to the university, by molding and regulating the course of study, and by inducing pupils of ability who at present prefer another course, because it leads to the university, to study for a commercial career. Turning to the interests of commerce, the committee believe that a university education would be of the greatest service to the men who are to occupy the chief positions in large commercial undertakings. To discharge aright the important and delicate duties and responsibilities which devolve upon them, the development of mind and width of culture which are produced by university study are as essential as in the case of the professional men, and there is no reason why the possession of a university degree should not be placed within the reach of the one as well as the other.

The classes of modern languages, of political economy, and possibly one or more of the present history and law classes, would form the nucleus of a Faculty of Commerce, and to these might gradually be added classes having more direct reference to the history and practice of commerce. The education to be provided by such a faculty would primarily be taken advantage of by young men having the

means and leisure to attend as regular students, but others engaged in business might, as is the practice with lawyers' and accountants' apprentices, also take the classes if suitable hours were fixed. It would also be available for the training of those who might act as teachers of commercial subjects in schools.

Although the committee hold the opinions in regard to university education above expressed, they feel that the evidence given by the business men who came before them shows that the need for that education is not appreciated by the mercantile community, and they respectfully urge Chambers of Commerce and other mercantile bodies to consider this important subject and mature the opinion of business men in regard to it.

III. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

The Race Problem.—*Hoffman's "Race Traits of the American Negro."*¹ In spite of the fact that Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman's volume on "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro" is very interesting reading and is being widely quoted, it is likely to prejudice unjustly the cause of the negro because of errors in statistical statement and in the use of the statistical method. The author is a professional statistician in the employ of a large insurance company. Careful students who are trained to make their deductions from all the data in hand rather than from half or two-thirds of the figures they quote may well be surprised at Hoffman's methods. After observing this fact, however, they will not be astonished perhaps to find that Mr. Hoffman's conclusions, based upon some figures, are disproved by *other* figures given within the covers of his own book.

In his discussion of the question of negro mortality he concludes, from the figures cited, that the rate of increase in the negro population is diminishing and the race consequently dying out. On page 53 Hoffman gives the following mortality rates for negroes in four cities:

Mobile. (1843-1894)	Charleston. (1822-1894)	Savannah. (1856-1894)	New Orleans. (1849-1894)
23.10	28.16	34.07	52.10
31.19	25.02	49.65	44.61
34.70	19.77	57.26	40.22
39.74	34.12	44.82	52.33
36.26	41.98	51.66	35.22
35.11	43.83	41.67	39.42
30.91	44.06	37.26	
		32.26	

¹ Contributed by Isabel Eaton, M. A., of New York City; author of "Negro Domestic Service in Philadelphia," etc.

Of these records Mr. Hoffman says: "While the point to be brought out by this table is not so clear as would be desirable, it is shown . . . that for the colored population the mortality at the present time would seem to be higher, as a rule, than it was forty or fifty years ago." Is Mr. Hoffman's conclusion justifiable? Note that he has given here four tables in two of which the present mortality is shown to be greater than it was some years ago, while in the other two it is shown to be less. Is he justified, under such circumstances, in reaching the conclusion quoted, or in presenting a conclusion so reached as a "Race Trait?"

But note still further—on page 39 of the same book, where Mr. Hoffman is discussing another aspect of the problem, he gives nine records of colored mortality which steadily decrease, while a tenth record somewhat irregularly increases. He should have combined these records with the four already quoted above. Combining these ten tables with the four here given in full, he would have had altogether fourteen negro mortality tables to prove the increasing death rate of the colored people. Only three of these, however, show an increasing mortality, while eleven show a *decreasing* mortality rate. From such figures is Mr. Hoffman justified in concluding that the mortality of the negroes is *increasing*? Moreover, the census figures for the last century, from 1790 to 1890, show no decade in which the race has not increased by at least nine per cent.

Again, in regard to Mr. Hoffman's interpretation of the *Hull-House Maps*, published in 1894, the present writer, formerly a resident of Hull-House, may perhaps be allowed to point out a second error. On page 17 of his "Race Traits" he says of these maps: "The first map reveals that the colored population is concentrated in a very limited area, which contains but a small number of whites. . . . The second map shows that the section inhabited almost exclusively by colored persons is also the section which contains all the houses of ill-fame in this part of the city." If Mr. Hoffman will study and compare the two Hull-House maps he will find that there are nearly three times as many whites as negroes in the district he speaks of as "inhabited almost exclusively by colored persons," and a careful comparison and measuring of the two maps will show him that negro immorality in the section he speaks of is, in comparison with the white immorality in that section, as 1 to $8\frac{1}{2}+$; that is to say, there are nearly *nine white brothels for every one negro brothel* in this section.

Not only is it true that Mr. Hoffman has misinterpreted the actual condition in this Chicago "slum" district, but it is also true that this particular Chicago "slum" district represents facts of negro

life which are the reverse of the usual ones, as may be seen by referring to page 27 of the Seventh Special Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor on "The Slums of Great Cities." This was published in 1894, and there Mr. Hoffman might have read Commissioner Wright's statement that "the conclusions drawn from the comparisons of the slum with the total population are briefly, that in Baltimore the proportion of blacks, mulattoes, etc., in the slum districts canvassed is much less than that found in the whole city, being 4.12 per cent for the slums and 15.45 per cent for the whole city; in New York .54 of 1 per cent of the slum population are blacks, mulattoes, etc., while they compose 1.56 per cent of the total population; in Philadelphia they constitute 2.53 per cent of the slum and 3.76 per cent of the total population; in *Chicago the reverse is true*, the proportion of blacks, mulattoes, etc., in the slum districts being 5.69 per cent and for the whole city but 1.30 per cent." That this crowding in of negroes into the Chicago slums should be represented as a "race trait" when it has been shown by the National Labor Bureau to occur in only one of four cities investigated, while in the other three cities the tendency is strongly the other way, seems, to say the least, a hastily formed judgment.

Tenement House Legislation in New York, 1852-1900.—The Tenement House Commission has just issued a printed report of 200 pages prepared by the secretary, Mr. Lawrence Veiller, giving a history of all tenement house legislation that has been enacted in New York State since the very earliest days. The report is a very complete one, taking up every phase of the tenement house laws and tracing in detail all the changes that have occurred in reference to each subject.

The different subjects are arranged in four main classes: Fire provisions, light and ventilation provisions, sanitary and health provisions, and general provisions relating to the administration of the laws and other kindred topics.

Under the fire provisions may be found such topics as the following: Fire escapes, the construction of public halls and stairways, construction of hall partitions, the construction of elevator shafts, dumb-waiter and light and vent shafts, and so on, through the different requirements of the various laws. Among the light and ventilation provisions are to be found such subjects, as the amount of space to be left between front and rear tenements, the space to be left vacant at the rear of tenement houses, the percentage of the lot permitted to be occupied by new tenements, the size of light and air shafts, the ventilation and size of rooms and halls, and so on; a similar method of grouping or classification has been followed in reference to the sanitary provisions.

Under each one of the different topics is to be found a statement of all the changes that have taken place at different times in reference to this especial part of the law, and following such statement in each case are exact quotations from the different enactments so that the student may trace in detail each change. The present law upon each subject is also indicated and the report contains a very full and complete index; and at the end a list of all building laws and tenement laws that have been enacted in the State of New York from 1849 to the present time.

It is amazing to find upon the perusal of this report how many excellent laws were enacted twenty or thirty years ago, and how much less rigid the present laws are in some cases than those laws of former times. For instance, in 1867 the law required that in all tenement houses to be occupied by four families or more, the stairs and halls should be constructed entirely fireproof of stone or iron, and the floor beams of the halls were to be of iron with brick arches. This is much more stringent than the present law upon this subject, which does not require stairs to be absolutely fireproof, except when the buildings are over five stories high, and are also arranged for four families on every floor. In other cases the stairs and halls are required to be of slow-burning construction, and in tenement houses less than three stories high no special provision is made. Similarly, in reference to the construction of hall partitions: In 1867, it appears, the law required that in all tenement houses intended to be occupied by four families or more, the hall partitions from the foundation to the roof should be made of brick not less than twelve inches in thickness, and that the floor beams of such halls should be of iron with brick arches. The present law limits this requirement only to the stairways and partitions enclosing them, and does not include the whole public hallway. Similarly in reference to having the first story constructed fireproof: the law as originally enacted in 1871, was much more rigid than it is at the present day, the earlier laws requiring that in all tenements over three stories in height, occupied by as many as six families above the first story, the first floor should be entirely fireproof. The present law does not require this unless the building is five stories in height.

It is extremely interesting to find that as early as 1867, the law required all wood-bins and coal-bins in the cellars of tenement houses to be constructed of fireproof material. Had this law not been repealed in 1871, a great number of our most serious tenement-house fires would never have occurred, as a large proportion of such fires start in cellars. In 1887 a law was enacted prohibiting the use of any wooden building as a tenement house, that is by more than two families. The present law, however, permits such buildings to be occupied by as many as six families.

This report of the Tenement House Commission contains many other matters of interest, and should prove of great value to architects, builders, lawyers and students of tenement house reform. It is the first history of this kind that has ever been prepared.

Tenement-House Conditions.—The New York Tenement House Commission has issued its third special report, prepared by the secretary, Mr. Lawrence Veiller, upon the subject, tenement-house conditions.

This latest report, a book of some sixty pages, entitled, "Housing Conditions and Tenement Laws in Leading American Cities," deals with housing conditions in the twenty-seven largest American cities. These conditions are taken up in detail with respect to Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo, San Francisco, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, New Orleans, Detroit, Milwaukee, Washington, Jersey City, Louisville, Minneapolis, Providence, Kansas City, St. Paul, Rochester, Denver, Toledo, Columbus, Syracuse, Nashville and Hartford. Besides a description of the housing conditions in each one of these cities, the report contains a statement of the more important provisions of the tenement laws and building laws in each one of these cities, and also extracts from some of the more important laws, notably the laws in Philadelphia, Buffalo and Boston.

Appended to the report is a comparative table showing the most important provisions of the different tenement-house laws in each one of these cities grouped side by side so that a person may see at a glance how these different statutes compare. This report should be of value to the legislature as affording a precedent for progressive legislation upon this subject. It appears that none of these large American cities, excepting Boston, Cincinnati, Jersey City and Hartford, have a tenement-house problem, and in the great majority of these cities the tenement-house as known in New York does not exist, the poor people and working people living generally in small, one-story or two-story houses, containing one, or, at the most, two families, while in many cities these houses are often owned by the workingmen themselves. There are, of course, in each of these cities certain bad housing conditions which give some of them what might be termed a housing problem, but this is distinct from the tenement-house problem as known in New York and Boston.

The laws of Buffalo, Philadelphia and Washington might well serve as a model for New York in many respects, especially in regard to provisions for light and air. The Buffalo law provides that "no court or shaft shall be less than six feet wide for one-story and two-story buildings, and at least eight feet wide for three-story and four-story buildings, and one foot wider for each additional story above the fourth story." The law in Philadelphia is very similar. This law

provides that "no shaft or court shall be less than eight feet wide in any part, and that any court or shaft between the wings of a tenement-house, or between two tenement-houses shall not be less in width than twelve feet; and all such shafts and courts shall be open on one side from the ground to the sky."

When one contrasts these provisions with the present provisions of the New York law, which permit, instead of wide shafts, mere slits twenty-eight inches wide and sixty feet long, and closed on all sides, one begins to realize that New York is in some respects far behind many smaller cities in her tenement-house laws.

The Mutual Life Insurance Principle.¹—In the *Ekonomisk Tidskrift* (Häft. 2, 1909), Tedor Åström, discusses the "enigmatical nature" of certain Swedish life insurance companies, which claim to be "mutual." He asserts that the insured in these companies gain no more, lose no more, and enter into the workings of the company to no greater extent than do the policy-holders of a company organized on the joint-stock plan. Preliminary blanks of application, etc., mention no obligation save that of regular payment of premium. It is stated in the regulations merely that the action of the company is mutual. This could not be construed to mean heavy liability, nor are there any provisions made relative to conditions or grounds for extra taxation of any kind; no principle of apportionment of loss or gain is stated. The only conclusion is that policy-holders are in duty bound merely to continue the regular payment of a regular premium.

The companies themselves seem to act upon this understanding, for they keep a reserve fund in case of abnormal losses and to defray the costs of management, which fund has to be maintained at a certain figure.

The writer thinks the most important so-called mutual companies, in respect of policy-holders' rights and duties, show, in general, no essential divergence from the recognized joint-stock form, and he regards the use of "mutual" as entirely erroneous and confusing.

Proceedings of the Peabody Educational Fund.—The thirty-ninth meeting of the Board of Trustees was held in New York October 3, 1900, Chief Justice Fuller, the first vice-chairman, presiding. Reports were submitted from most of the Southern states discussing educational progress, especially in connection with the institutions aided by the Peabody Fund. The report of Hon. J. L. M. Curry, the general agent of the fund, called attention to the important place the common school plays in our whole educational system, and especially, in providing a minimum of training for citizenship in a republic, and stated that the Fund in remembrance of its past emphatic declarations

¹ Contributed by Dr. A. G. Keller, Yale University.

cannot shut its eyes to the needs of the negroes, their strong and unrecognized claims upon the government, nor refuse assent to the resolution of the Capon Springs Conference, that the national government in recognition of moral obligations incurred by the enfranchisement of the negroes, should aid in the establishment of primary and industrial education in the South. A significant paragraph on the subject of national aid to the schools in the South is the following taken from Dr. Curry's report :

"Whatever may be the character or urgency of issues, new or old, presented to the American people, of obligations growing out of enlarged relations, *free schools for all the people*, good enough to attract and instruct the rich and cheap enough to provide for and educate the poor, is the duty to which nothing can be paramount, and for the neglect or postponement of which no exigency of party or country is an excuse. What is the paramount issue is the furnishing by the government of the widest possible opportunities for the development of the faculties and personality of every citizen. It is said that in the struggle for world power, the United States is dependent on national resources, economic power and social development; but all these, however concentrated, will be ineffective without general education and intelligent and trained skill in labor. Where Christian democracy obtains, and the man in man is sought out, one hears, as a writer in the August *Forum* quotes, 'constantly the sound of polished boots descending, of wooden shoes mounting upward.' Private and denominational schools will never educate the mass of the people, and every citizen should have furnished to him, without money and without price, the means of a fair and useful education. Hatel and mischievous and unchristian is that skepticism or narrowness which prates about keeping the poor in what is called their proper 'station,' or 'pauperizing' the people by a gratuitous system of education. Amid clerical and other obstacles our sister republic of France is earnestly seeking to cure ignorance of the agricultural masses and her backward state in many branches of information. For the furtherance of public instruction, especially in its primary branch, the yearly budget is more than ten times what it was before the war of 1870-71. Leaving out the art section, the appropriation was \$41,638,000. In spite of social and political upheavals, the republic has made progress which reaches the masses, and primary instruction is now gratuitous, compulsory and secular."

Legal Aid for the Poor.—The Legal Aid Society of New York City, founded in March, 1876, nearly twenty-five years ago, has in that time recovered over \$800,000, for its clients, from persons who were trying to defraud them. In the single year 1899, the society received over

ten thousand applications for assistance. The average amount of money involved in these cases is about \$8. The society asks for a retainer's fee of ten cents for each case, although where investigation proves that the client cannot pay even this small sum, it is remitted. Where the sum involved is more than \$10, and where more than \$10 is actually collected the society charges the client, in addition to the retainer's fee of ten cents, a fee of 10 per cent for services. Most of the cases are settled out of court by correspondence without great difficulty as soon as the offending parties find that a powerful society is back of the claim. In a recent published statement, Mr. Arthur von Briesen, the president of the society, spoke of the indirect service the society rendered, as follows:

"It is not merely that we protect the weak from being wronged and defrauded of that which is their just due; that is a great deal, to be sure, but there are other and collateral results which are of value to the community and the country. The society's work makes good citizens and arouses a sentiment of respect for the laws, and also, I may say, a sentiment of patriotism. Many of our clients are persons of foreign birth—people, often, who are ignorant of the laws and of how to set the machinery of the law in motion. They have some vague idea that there is law for the redress of wrongs, but they have heard that it is too costly a luxury for the poor: that it is law for the rich and not for the poor. They know they have been defrauded and wronged, but redress may seem to them hopeless. They have no money to secure it, and therefore they think it is not for them. The consequence is that they become bitter, not only against the particular person who has wronged them, but also against society in general, against the country which permits society to be organized on so unjust a basis. Such persons—and they need not be confined to persons of foreign birth by any means—are ripe to listen to those social agitators and disturbers who are only too prevalent. They are ripe for enlistment in the ranks of those who are regarded as dangerous to the security of law and order.

"Now, it is to just such persons as these that our society comes with its helping hand. We demonstrate to them that there is not only law in this country to redress wrongs and to protect people from cheating and fraud, but that it is law for the poor as well as for the rich. If a person comes to us with a complaint of extortion or of swindling or of faithlessness in carrying out a contract, or of any offence against persons or property that is remediable under our laws, we will see that he has justice done him, even though he may not be able to pay the retainer of ten cents, for which the rules of the society nominally provide. He has justice, in other words, no matter how poor he is.

Now, when a weak and helpless person finds that he is an integral part of a community that will protect him because of his very weakness and helplessness, he is very apt to become a staunch supporter of the social organization of that community and a very poor listener to the preachers of discord and discontent. Furthermore, he is proud to claim a country as his own that so well looks after the rights of even the humblest of her citizens. It stirs in him not only that which resents assaults upon social order, but that also which is the genuine spirit of patriotism.

"In view of the mixed character of our population and the comparative strangeness on the part of many of them to our ways and our social structure, these are important considerations, important not only as regards people of this kind, but also as regards our own people, born and bred here. The fundamental conviction well settled in the minds of all who through misfortune are unable to assert their own rights that there is a force in the community that will assert their rights for them, and not only assert them, but get them—such a conviction as that implanted in all minds is of great value to the community and is a material factor in the country's strength.

"These are only some of the indirect results of the Legal Aid Society's work, and as to the direct results, I am sure that if the general public could know and see, as do the society's agents and representatives, the multitude of cases of oppression and injustice that are relieved, there would be little doubt in anybody's mind that the Legal Aid Society is worthy of the support that it gets from those who have the best interests of the community at heart."

The society now has four offices with an attorney in charge of each. One of the most important branches of its work is that for seamen. The president's annual report, in speaking of this, says: "Seamen are strangers. They come from distant lands to stay here but a brief space of time. They bring ashore what little money they may have earned on their trips. The traps laid for just that money are innumerable. Once the money is taken from them they become merchandise that is bought and sold. At least such was the case until Mr. Abbott commenced to take their cases in charge. In view of the fact that New York is dependent upon its marine commerce, it should be understood that seamen who devote their lives to its service in this important particular are its wards."

Mr. von Briesen estimates that \$5,000,000 are annually wrung from sea captains and sailors by various systems of extortion and swindling. The operations of one organized gang for this purpose are described as follows: "They bear down on every incoming tramp steamer and sailing ship, and, if possible, swarm on board after the approved style

of sea robbers. There usually is little difficulty in doing this. The captains are often more or less strangers to the port and readily fall into the error that the Jolly Roger gang is in some way official and make no objection to its members swarming over the ship's side. Once on board they make an onslaught on the crew, offering poor Jack glittering inducements to desert and go ashore for a good time. In very many cases, probably the majority, they succeed. Then, when the captain is ready to sail again he has no crew. The pirates have concealed his men and own them as they might own so many cattle. They have stripped the men of their money, and, in addition to that, have chained them down with all sorts of boarding-house debts. It is to these scoundrels that the captain must go if he wants to get a crew, and a round sum he must pay, generally \$40 and upward a head. Of course this comes out of Jack in the end, being deducted from his wages.

"Very often the captains—and this applies to the captains of English vessels particularly—are simply in league with the pirates. They ship their men from the other side under a contract to pay them on their return to the shipping point at the end of the voyage. If the men desert meantime they forfeit all the pay they have earned on the passage out and the captains wish nothing better than to have them desert. It is cheaper for them to buy a crew of the piratical crimps than it would be to pay their own crew full wages at the end of the voyage. If the entire crew of a vessel which has sailed, say, from Liverpool, desert at this port, the captain has had his ship worked all the way here free of cost. He can then purchase a debt-mortgaged crew to go back with and still have a liberal margin of plunder left to himself after paying the crimps their price."

An important branch of the society works in connection with the University Settlement among the poor on the East Side. A woman's branch has been organized, with headquarters at the United Charities Building, for the special purpose of rendering legal aid to women wage-earners.

Jubilee Congress of the Universal Association of Institutions for Mutual Help.—This association, founded by M. de Malarce, who is still its permanent secretary, held its twenty-fifth meeting at Paris, September 19-22, 1900. A large number of documents and reports relating to its work were brought together on this occasion. At the opening session Baron Tkint de Roodenberre, senator from Belgium, presided. The baron's father, now eighty-five years of age, has been for forty years a prominent member of the Permanent Superior Commission of Belgian Mutual Societies. General Porter, the American Ambassador, who is said to be greatly interested in the experimental

method of practical solutions for social problems, was present. There were also present many prominent practical philanthropists from France and other countries. After the opening exercises, a comprehensive historical report was presented by M. de Malarce upon "Progress of Mutual Benefit and Provident Societies in this Century." The association does not vote any resolutions, but suggests reform measures and leaves each member free to accept or reject in accordance with his individual judgment. Only philanthropic societies were admitted to the congress, and only the work of such was discussed. Mutual benefit schemes, where there was any element of private profit, were classed as speculative and excluded from participation. It is to be hoped that the valuable reports prepared for this congress will be printed eventually in an English translation.

Charity Organization in Hartford, Connecticut.—The Hartford Charity Organization Society held its tenth annual meeting November 26, 1900. The occasion was made notable by the presentation of a review of the ten years' work prepared by the well-trained and efficient superintendent of the society, Dr. David I. Green. A few abstracts from Dr. Green's report may serve to bring out some of the distinctive work of the Hartford Society.

"The Charity Organization Society was established for the purpose of improving the administration of charity, and aimed to introduce and disseminate certain principles and methods which promised a more economical and effective use of relief funds and at the same time a real improvement in the condition of the poor. Two questions naturally arise at this time: Have the Charity Organization Society principles and methods been accepted in considerable measure, and if so has their acceptance brought about the improvement in social conditions that was hoped for by the promoters of the movement?

"Ten years ago recommendations were commonly accepted in place of investigations, and such investigations as were made often consisted of little more than a call at the home of the applicant, or an inquiry of some one to whom the applicant referred. It is not too much to say that the word investigation has come to have a fuller meaning to the Hartford public since the activity of this society began. It involves a friendly acquaintance, not only with the applicant, but with his family and its surroundings, with his relatives, his pastor, and the others who are interested in his welfare. That there was imperative need of thorough investigation of all applications was abundantly proved by the startling instances of misapplied charity, discovered at the beginning of this society's activity.

"The growth toward more careful methods has been continuous since that time on the part of both public and private charities. Not only

is there a constant increase in the use of the facilities of this society, for investigation, but other agencies as well are manifesting greatly increased activity in this direction. This is especially true of the city charities whose investigator devotes a large share of his time to this line of work. Much relief is still given without sufficient investigation, but there can be no doubt but that a marked improvement has been brought about and that there is a tendency toward further improvement.

"The extent to which the facilities of the society for giving information concerning applicants are being used, as well as the tendency toward their increased use, may be indicated by the following figures, which show the number of applications received from almoners and charitable individuals for reports concerning applicants and the total number of applications that have come to us through reference by co-operating agencies and individuals. The number of applications received directly from the applicants also testifies to the increasing extent to which claims for relief are subjected to investigation.

	Applications for reports.	Applications by reference.	Direct applications.
1895	344	744	418
1896	417	738	611
1897	529	988	1190
1898	445	959	1308
1899	644	1202	1319
1900	751	1293	1449

"The increase in the use of our society is not the only indication that those who give are coming to realize the need of more information concerning their beneficiaries. There is also a notable increase in co-operation and the exchange of information among the almoners, and especially an increase of co-operation between the public and private charities to the advantage of both.

"The advance made under the second division of the charity organization method, that of securing relief from the most natural source available, is not as manifest, though it is, I believe, no less real. This society has always found it easy to secure adequate relief for real want. The co-operation of relief agencies from the first has been very satisfactory in this respect. But when the fact of a need is established another question arises as to which of perhaps several possible sources we should apply to for the relief. The easiest course is not always the best. Charity organization societies everywhere stand for the principle that parents should care for their children and grandchildren, that children should support their parents and grandparents, that

brothers and sisters, relatives and personal friends should stand by each other in times of need. These virtues are exemplified among the poor even more than among the well-to-do. We believe they should be encouraged, not because they save the relief funds, but because of the moral advantage, and often, even, the economic advantage to the poor themselves.

"At the time this society was organized the sense of interdependence among the poor as well as the spirit of independence was being seriously undermined by the ease with which relatives and acquaintances could be placed upon the charities. This evil has since been greatly reduced by the curtailment of public relief as well as by direct co-operation with the relatives and friends of the needy. After ten years of effort in this direction we can say, that the relatives and personal friends of the needy are much more helpful than is generally supposed. They are often perplexed and baffled by the failings of character, of which the relief agent may not hear, but an utter lack of generosity is seldom met with, and on the other hand the recognition of responsibility is certainly becoming more general. The very large decrease in the amount of public outdoor relief is both a cause and an evidence of the fact that the relief of want has become less a matter of official necessity and more a matter of personal interest and helpfulness. In other words the relief of want comes in much greater degree than ten years ago, from the more natural sources.

"In respect to the third division of the charity organization method—the formation of plans for permanent improvement in the situation of individual families and the establishment to this end of continuous friendly relationship between the needy family and a visitor of character and resource—we can also find evidence of progress.

"More or less successful work is done along these lines by other organizations, but doubtless the chief advance during the past ten years is to be seen in the activity of various circles of King's Daughters, in the work of the agents of this society, and especially in the work of the three conferences of Friendly Visitors which this society maintains. The central conference was organized in the fall of 1894; the North District Conference and the South District Conference were organized two years later. A large increase in the number of visitors has continued to be a matter of hope, but a good interest in the work of the conferences has been realized, and the results attained have been highly satisfactory.

"Though no new discovery, it is, we believe, much more generally realized now than ten years ago, that the need of groceries and coal, though important of itself, is in general but a superficial manifestation of deeper needs which must be dealt with if we are really to improve the condition of the poor.

"The work of this society in respect to personal service for the needy has undergone a considerable change during the ten years under consideration. The first years of its activity were spent largely in exposing abuses, a work that was much more useful to the public than profitable to the society or its superintendent. It was not until these abuses were in a large measure corrected that the benevolent work outlined in the constitution of the society was taken up in its entirety.

"The curtailment of public relief has given it a chance to be of service to needy people in securing relief from other sources. Increased support has made it possible to enlarge its working force so that more can be done toward meeting the countless needs of the poor which call for action rather than for money. It no longer attempts to classify its needy acquaintances into the categories of worthy and unworthy, but in the light of all the knowledge it can gain it seeks to do, or to have done that which will be most helpful to each. The stimulating influence of thorough acquaintance is perhaps itself the chief contribution of this society to the upbuilding of the dependent, but this acquaintance has brought many opportunities for useful effort—opportunities which have been accepted in some measure, but which extend far beyond the limits of our present resources.

"The course which the reform movement has taken in respect to the decrease in public outdoor relief is shown in the following table, in which the amounts of annual public relief in provisions, rent, fuel and cash are compared with the amounts which would have been given if the per capita rate of expenditure in 1890 had been continued with the increasing population of the city till 1900. During this period the amount of outdoor relief given by the seven leading relief societies of the city has remained practically constant at about \$11,500.

	Public outdoor relief actually given.	Would have been given had the old rate continued.
1890	\$33,283	\$33,283
1891	28,913	34,948
1892	16,554	36,613
1893	13,422	38,278
1894	17,324	39,943
1895	17,329	41,608
1896 (8½ m.)	10,669	30,307
1897 (9¼ m.)	7,414	34,916
1898	6,819	45,769
1899	5,640	47,434
1900	4,511	49,099
	<hr/> \$161,878	<hr/> \$432,198
		<hr/> 161,878
Total saving		\$270,320

"It will be observed that a sudden decline in public relief followed the report of the special committee on outdoor alms in 1891, and another marked decline followed the transfer of the public charities from the hands of the selectmen to the board of charity commissioners in June, 1896. The hard winter of 1894 caused some reaction, but aside from these exceptional years the decline in public outdoor relief has been steady and continuous. The per capita expenditure has been reduced from sixty-five cents in 1890 to less than six cents for the year ending April 1, 1900. There is every reason to believe that a further reduction can be made to advantage. The saving already made, however, amounts in the nine and a half years covered by the table to \$270,320, while the rate of expenditure now attained shows an annual saving of \$44,588. If our calculations were extended to the next ten years with another 50 per cent increase in the population of the city, the saving for the ten years would aggregate \$557,350. In view of these large figures the expenditures for investigations and for the work of helping the needy to help themselves seem to be very profitably invested."

IV. COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

A Colonial Bureau of Information.—An institution of great practical interest to Americans at the present time is the recently organized *Office Colonial*, a branch of the French Colonial Ministry. Situated in the historic *Galerie d'Orléans* of the *Palais Royal*, the office has for its object to furnish accurate and official information upon all subjects connected with the colonies, for the use of intending investors, emigrants and business men generally. It is a bureau of information. France is land-poor; in spite of her enormous colonial empire she is without the means of developing it. All the world knows of the stationary condition of her population. The French themselves have become uneasy over this sign of decadence and a parliamentary commission has just been appointed to study the evil and propose "remedies." Whatever the causes of the existing conditions may be, the truth of the matter is that France with her stationary population is not an "expansive" country, therefore the French colonies are not peopled with Frenchmen. This circumstance, together with the burdensome trade restrictions imposed by the mother country, has led to colonial stagnation. Recently the danger of such conditions has been brought home to the French public by the trend of international events, and strenuous efforts have been made to strengthen the colonies and to bind them more closely to the mother country. Realizing that the only way to retain control of her colonies was to people them with her own citizens, France has devoted her energies to the task of encouraging emigration and investment in colonial enterprises. The old bureau of information for Indo-China, established in 1898, has become the present *Office Colonial*. This office is divided into four different branches or bureaus: 1. Colonization and Emigration. 2. Commerce. 3. Statistics. 4. Library. Of these the second is of especial importance.

Commerce.

The section of commerce is by far the most valuable and important part of the *Office Colonial*. In this section is published the monthly "*Feuille de renseignements*," or bulletin of information, which forms the principal work of the bureau. The bulletin has a circulation of about fourteen hundred, chiefly among newspapers, chambers of commerce, colonial societies and individuals interested in colonial affairs.

It contains articles on all topics of a colonial nature. The value of this publication is attested by the frequent correspondence which it occasions. Especially noteworthy is the advertising function performed by the bulletin. Along this line the "*Feuille*," has succeeded

in bringing colonial and home producers and consumers into relations with each other in a way impossible for the ordinary newspaper. Again, the section of commerce publishes a complete list of agricultural, industrial and mercantile enterprises in the colonies. This colonial business directory, needless to say, is of great practical value to home producers. A special collection of newspaper clippings upon colonial topics is also made for the section and has proved of much utility to those consulting the office.

The French press, after having so long neglected the colonies, is now coming to a vivid realization of their importance, and, with characteristic French enthusiasm, is devoting vast quantities of space to colonial affairs. The same is true of the magazines. France has a second and more acute attack of colonial fever, and it seems highly probable that she will issue from the present epoch of colonial excitement with much better and more lasting results. The press clippings which are collected for the section of commerce have been found almost invaluable because of the wide range of topics included. Various expositions of colonial products, *e. g.*, coffee, rice, etc., are being prepared, and along this line the section is rapidly reaching the stage of a commercial museum for colonial products. Finally, the section of commerce carries on an extensive correspondence with commercial and manufacturing houses interested in raw materials from the colonies and has proven of considerable value in furthering the sale of French manufactured products in the colonies.

In regard to this latter point, the sale of French manufactures in the colonies, France has consistently pursued the course so disastrously followed by Great Britain before the American Revolution. The French have regarded their colonies too much in the light of mere markets for French exports. This policy would have been intolerable to British colonists and it may even be said that French colonists would resist were it not for the fact, already mentioned, that the colonies are sparsely settled by the French. The result has therefore been not revolution but stagnation. France says to her colonies, "Buy either French goods or nothing," and they accept the second alternative. It may be imagined that such a policy makes it doubly necessary for the French Government to provide some means of facilitating commercial intercourse between colonial and home consumers and producers. The section of commerce has been a potent agency in this direction. A visitor who desires information, for instance, upon the possibility of finding some substitute for Manila hemp because of the Philippine war, has at his command a complete index of newspaper and magazine articles upon the subject, if any exist; he may also send to the office for more detailed information

regarding the cost of such a substitute. The office immediately commences a correspondence with planters in the colonies and samples are sent. Arrangements are now being made for a more general and permanent exposition of colonial products so that in the near future the purchaser will find his samples already at hand. If the nature and general value of the product be well known, the purchaser has only to consult the colonial business directory to find a complete list of producers of the article in the various colonies. Less difficulty is, of course, experienced when the office is called on to indicate for the colonist some French manufacturer of a certain line of goods. The usual method pursued is a simple insertion in the "want" columns of the monthly bulletin or "*Feuille*," and this is ordinarily found to be sufficient.

Emigration.

An interesting function falls to the lot of the section of emigration and colonization, viz., to promote emigration to the colonies and to further the investment of French capital in colonial enterprises. It has been well said that the reason why Frenchmen do not emigrate to the colonies is that they are better off at home. If the wealth of France were being divided by a rapidly growing divisor, *i. e.*, if the population were increasing at a rapid rate, as in Germany, a large and constant stream of emigration would be in evidence, and this emigration would naturally turn toward the French colonies. But this is not the case. French colonies are suffering from the disinclination of the families at home to "divide the patrimony." Here again, the aid of the "*Office Colonial*" and of various private societies is invoked. The "*Office*" is charged with the duty of placing at the disposition of intending colonists all the information regarding the colonies of France, the economic opportunities which they offer and the qualifications necessary for success, which are obtainable, together with such other advice and assistance as lie within its power. This duty falls to the section of emigration and colonization.

Emigration is largely promoted by the "Society for the Assistance of Colonists," and by other associations which provide for the transportation of suitable families to the colonies, and, in some instances, furnish them with limited outfits. In his annual report, covering the first nine months of the existence of the office, the Director, M. Auricoste, records 417 persons, including women and children, whose emigration to the colonies was assisted in various ways. A large number of these were transported free of charge, while others received transportation at reduced rates. With many of the emigrants the

usual expectations of an El Dorado in the new colonies were prevalent. To the credit of the "Office" it should be reckoned that many ill-prepared, technically uneducated persons, entirely unsuited for colonial enterprises have been turned back by the counsel and advice of the officials in the section of emigration and colonization. The demand of the colonies is for capitalists and mechanics, not for the untrained or the shiftless class.

The section of emigration and colonization further performs a highly important duty in its relations with those contemplating investment in colonial enterprises. As the section of commerce conducts an extensive correspondence for intending purchasers or sellers to inform them of colonial conditions, so the section of colonization puts forth its best efforts to secure information regarding opportunities for investment in the fields of rice culture, coffee-growing, cattle-raising, farming, fisheries, railways, brickmaking, building, etc. These are a few examples taken from the numerous instances which have passed through the office in the first nine months of its existence. It has, therefore, become customary for capitalists to consult with the officials of this section relative to investments in the colonies.

A word should also be said regarding the library and statistical services of the office. The library is small compared with such collections as that of the Colonial Institute in London, but is rapidly growing and becoming an acknowledged centre for those interested in colonial subjects. The statistical bureau has begun the collection and publication of an annual series on the trade and navigation of all the French colonies, while numerous statistical compilations are published from time to time in the "*Feuille*."

This, briefly outlined, is the institution upon which France builds her hopes of reviving colonial trade. It is well organized and maintained at a high degree of efficiency. Only the future can tell what effect it will have upon the uncertain fortunes of the French colonial empire, but for Americans it is of the deepest significance.

In spite of the tons of literature which have been written about our new possessions, we are still comparatively ignorant regarding their real possibilities. The danger for these newly acquired islands lies not so much in their possible misgovernment by American carpet-baggers as in the ignorance of the American people concerning the economic resources of these new territories and the policy to be adopted toward them. The simplest and most effective method of dispelling this ignorance would be to establish some great bureau of information, such as the "*Office Colonial*," where full information on all subjects connected with colonial products, climate, land, people and resources generally could be obtained. It seems improbable that

monetary assistance to emigrants will be necessary for some considerable time to come, but information concerning colonial conditions for both intending colonist and investor should be made as accessible as the circumstances allow. The publication of a periodical sheet containing the latest authentic news upon colonial conditions generally and their special needs and requirements, together with advertising matter relative to the colonies, would in itself be an invaluable aid to colonial prosperity. Add to this a permanent exposition of colonial products and a "section of commerce" similar to that in the French "*Office*," and we should have an indissoluble bond between colony and parent country, a bond which would forever prevent the rise of economic and political misunderstandings. A special executive department for the government of the new dependencies is now only a matter of time, but, whether or not such a department is organized, it seems imperatively necessary that some distinct agency be established to act as a bureau of commercial information and to afford authentic knowledge of economic conditions in the colonies.

The Cuban Census.—The recently completed census of Cuba has been published by the War Department and is a most valuable document. Not only has the usual information of a statistical nature concerning population been included, but also a considerable amount of material upon the political organization, the geography, the flora and fauna and the history of Cuba; while numerous illustrations, maps and documents are given. Great credit is due to those who have compiled this valuable handbook.

The total population, including the Isle of Pines and the neighboring keys, was on October 16, 1899, 1,572, 797. The latest prior census was taken under Spanish authority in 1887, at which time the population was reported as being 1,631,687. The loss in the twelve years amounted to about 3.6 per cent of the population, but this only expresses a portion of the loss resulting from the recent war, since the natural increase of the population would have brought the total up to a very much higher figure. It is estimated that the total loss was not far from 200,000. The area is about 44,000 square miles and the density of population varies greatly in different provinces, being lowest in Puerto Principe. There are sixteen cities having a population of 8,000 or over. Havana has a population of 235,981. The urban population of the entire island in cities of 8,000 or more is 507,831, or 32.3 per cent. Nearly all of the Cuban cities are situated on the east coast. There is an excess of 57,613 males above the female population, or 3.6 per cent. In this respect Cuba differs from the neighboring West Indian islands, such as Jamaica, Porto Rico and the Bahamas. It is likely that this excess will increase rather than diminish in the next

few years, by reason of extensive immigration. Eighty-nine per cent of the population were born on the island; 8 per cent in Spain; 83 per cent of the population claim Cuban citizenship; 11 per cent at the time of the census had not declared their intention. The males of voting age numbered 417,993, or 26 per cent of the total population. Of this number 44.9 per cent were whites born in Cuba, 30.5 per cent colored, mostly born in Cuba. About 70 per cent were Cuban citizens. The native whites constitute 57.8 per cent of the population and they are grouped so as to form a majority of the population in every province except in the city of Havana. Here the white population is still in the majority but is largely composed of foreign elements. Thirty-four per cent of the population are able to read and write.

From these results of the census it appears that the Constitutional Convention now in session will be able to found a representative government upon the basis of native white supremacy, thus avoiding what has been considered the chief obstacle to Cuban self-government, viz. the predominance of the colored element. A restricted suffrage will, however, be found advisable, if not absolutely necessary, for the permanence of such a system of government.

BOOKS RECEIVED FROM OCTOBER 1 TO DECEMBER 1, 1900.

- Alling, H., *Why We Vote*. Olympia, Wash.: Westland Publishing Company. \$0.50.
 Bayles, G. J., *Civil Church Law Cases*. New York: Civil Church Press.
 Blackmar, F. W., *Economics*. Topeka, Kan.: Crane & Co. \$1.00.
 von Böhm-Bawerk, E., *Capital und Capitalzins*. 2te Aufl. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Buchhandlung.
 Bullock, C. J., *Essays on the Monetary History of the United States*. Macmillan. \$1.25.
 Cannon, J. G., *Clearing Houses*. Appleton. \$2.50.
 Clews, H., *The Wall Street Point of View*. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. \$1.50.
 Conant, C. A., *The United States in the Orient*. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.
 Conwell, J. A., *Our Nation's Need*. New York: J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co. \$1.00.
 Cosentini, F., *Studii Sociologici*. Palermo: Alberto Reber. 2 lire.
 Cuba, *Report on the Census, 1899*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
 Davenport, H., *The Dollar or the Man?* Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.00.
 Davis, R. H., *With Both Armies in South Africa*. Scribners. \$1.50.
 Fukuda, Tokuzo, *Die gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung in Japan*. (Münchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien, 42 Stück.) Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta. 4m.
 Galia, A. T. D., *Istituzioni di Diritto Civile Russo*. Torino, Roma: L. Roux & Co.
 Galia, A. T. D., *Le Consuetudini di Trapani, secondo il Libro Rosso*. Palermo: Alberto Reber. 2 lire.
 George, H., Jr., *The Life of Henry George*. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.50.
 Gide, C., *Principes d'Économie Politique*. Paris: Larose. 6fr.
 Gordy, J. P., *A History of Political Parties in the United States*. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.75.
 Holcombe, C., *The Real Chinese Question*. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.
 Holls, F. W., *The Peace Conference at The Hague*. Macmillan. \$3.00.
 Hucke, J., *Die Handels-Bilanz*. Berlin: Mitschew & Röstel.
 Judson, P. N., *A Treatise upon the Law and Practice of Taxation in Missouri*. Columbia, Mo.: E. W. Stephens.
 Lacombe, P., *La Guerre et l'Homme*. Paris: G. Bellais. 3.50fr.
 Lamson, D. F., *History of the Town of Manchester, Massachusetts, 1645-1895*.
 Lloyd, H. D., *Newest England*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.50.
 London—*Report on Changes in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour in the United Kingdom*. London: Darling & Son. 1s. 6d.
 Noble, E., *Russia and the Russians*. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
 Novicow, J., *La Fédération de l'Europe*. Paris: Félix Alcan. 3.50fr.
 Pagano, G., *Le Forme di Governo e la Loro Evoluzione Popolare*. 2 Vols. Palermo: Tipografia Editrice "Lo Statuto." 15 lire.
 Powell, L. P., *Edited by, Historic Towns of the Southern States*. Putnams. \$3.50.
 Scidmore, Eliza R., *China, the Long-Lived Empire*. Century Co. \$2.50.
 Shaler, N. S., *The Individual*. D. Appleton & Co.
 Smith, F. E., *International Law*. London: T. M. Dent & Co.
 von Tayenthal, M., *Die Gablonzer Industrie und die Produktiv-genossenschaft der Hohlperlenherzeuger im politischen Bezirk Gablounz*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 2.40m.
 Taylor, J. M., *Roger Ludlow*. Putnams.

- Taylor, W. G. L., *Exercises in Economics*. Lincoln, Neb.: University Publishing Co.
- Thomas, A. C., *A History of the United States*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$1.00.
- Towne, E. C., *The Story of Money*. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co. \$1.25.
- Veiller, L., *Tenement House Legislation in New York, 1852-1900*. Albany, N. Y.: Brandow Printing Co.
- Walker, J. H., *Miscellaneous Papers—Tariff, Silver Coinage, Banking—Speeches before House of Representatives*.
- Wildman, R., *China's Open Door*. Lothrop Publishing Co. \$1.50.
- Willoughby, W. W., *Social Justice*. Macmillan Co.
- Woollen, W. W., Howe, D. W., Dunn, J. P., *Edited by, Executive Journal of Indiana Territory, 1800-1816*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society.
- Young, J. P., *Protection and Progress*. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. \$1.25.